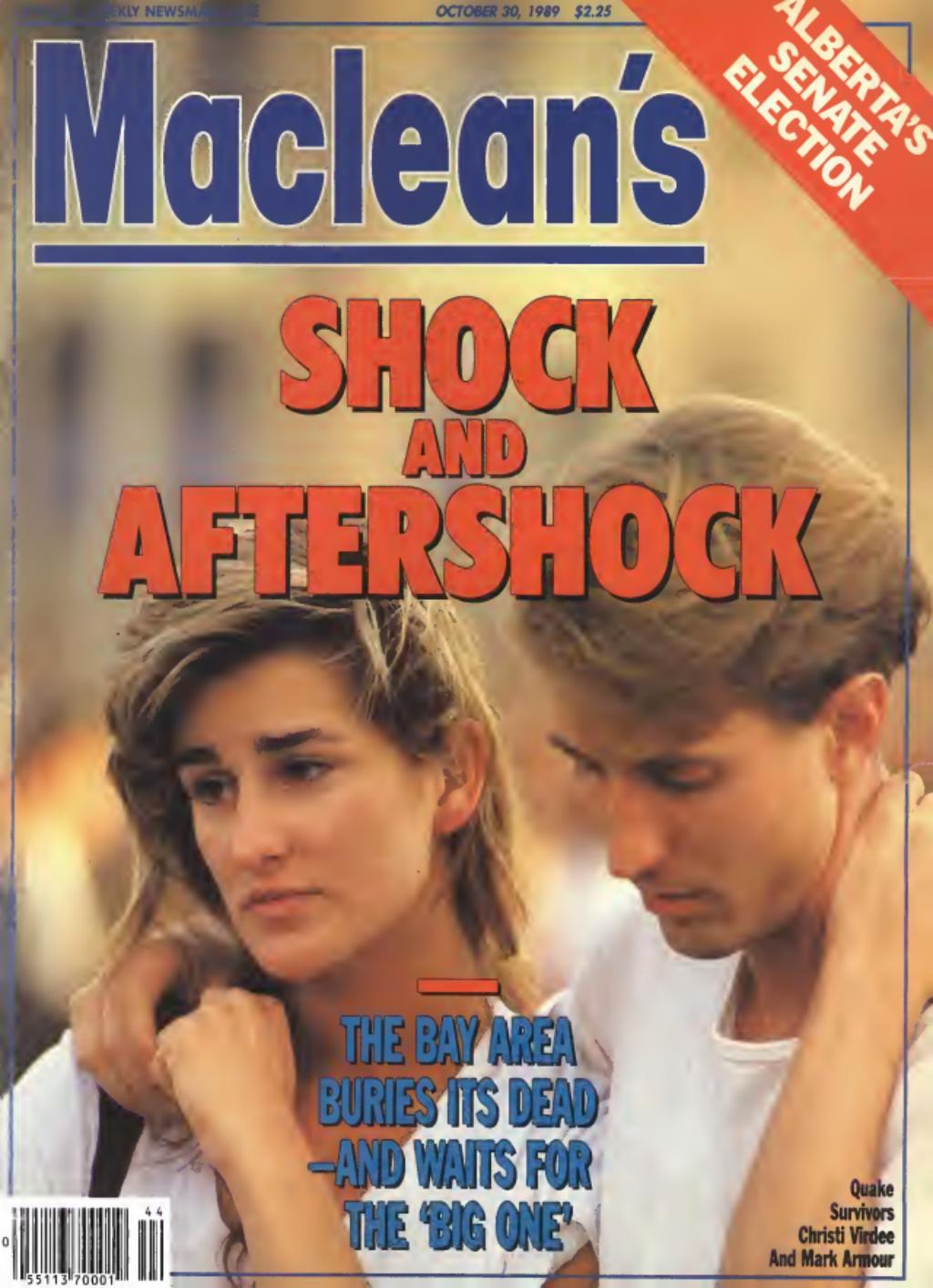


# Maclean's

ALBERTA'S  
SENATE  
ELECTION

## SHOCK AND AFTERSHOCK

A color photograph of a woman with long, wavy hair holding a small child. A man is visible behind them, looking down. The scene has a warm, golden glow.

THE BAY AREA  
BURIES ITS DEAD  
—AND WAITS FOR  
THE 'BIG ONE'

Quake  
Survivors  
Christi Virdee  
And Mark Armour



44

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COVER PHOTO BY RONALD MITCHELL/AMERICAN



## COVER

### SHOCK AND AFTERSHOCK

The earthquake shattered lives, razed sections of San Francisco, and devastated some neighboring communities. There were miraculous escapes and many sensing the tragedy, and the wonder was that so many lives were spared. But scientists who monitor the treacherous rock beneath California warned that a long-predicted catastrophic quake was yet to come.

— 43

## SPECIAL REPORT

### BY POPULAR DEMAND

In an unprecedented election, Alberta chose a retired general, Stanley Peterson, as their successor to the Senate. But Ottawa was under no obligation to accept their choice. And the campaign for a fully elected Senate resulted bogged down in the debate over the troubled Meech Lake accord.



## WORLD

### FIRES OF NATIONALISM

Growing nationalism in the predominantly Muslim Soviet republic of Azerbaijan has raised deep concern and consternation in the Kremlin. These concerns are compounded by a violent, 20-month-old dispute between Azerbaijan and neighboring Soviet Armenia, who are mainly Christian.



Graphic: AP/WIDEWORLD; Getty Images/Liaison



## Presenting The 1990 Accord. The Sedan That Rewards All Your Senses.

*Designers' concentration on reducing the number of seams, refining fit and finish is evident wherever you choose to cast your eye*

*Substantially increased glass area, flush surfaces and wide stance nicely marry sporty looks with improved visibility and increased occupied space.*

*Yet another notable feature is Honda's highly respected investment credential. The Honda No Small Print Warranty.*



### In profile

The Accord's refined and contemporary new styling gives it a European sedan flavour defined by softer contours and smoothly flowing lines.

**Clear multi-reflector, flush-mounted headlights add sparkling counterparts to the aerodynamic bumper and skirt.**

Its architecture has been redesigned for 30% greater structural integrity and 20% increased torsional rigidity to ensure a feeling of quality and substance.

**Larger in every major exterior dimension, the new Accord has 120 mm increased wheelbase to improve ride quality, and interior passenger comfort.**

**Along with the Accord's larger wheels, there are larger brakes: 260 mm ventilated discs in front and 220 mm drum brakes in rear for safer, quick stops.**

**Cargo capacity has increased to 14.4 cubic feet.**

**1990 Accord**  
**HONDA**

Remember your seat belts  
It's a simple fact of life.

## Handling Inspired By The Curvature Of The Earth.



You will immediately sense an even greater degree of precise control, flat cornering and smooth ride as provided by the Accord's redesigned double wishbone suspension system.

The Accord's agility is further enhanced by a new speed sensitive, variable assist power steering system. It nicely maintains road feel while keeping steering effort at an easy, comfortable level.

Accord's rear suspension uses a compensating linkage which automatically cancels out unwanted rear steering effects when cornering or braking.

The Accord serves up a new 2.2 liter, 16-valve single overhead camshaft engine with electronically controlled multi-point fuel injection. There is 125 H.P. for LX and EX models, 130 H.P. for EX-R.

## A New High In Energy Levels.

The Accord's computerized Electronic Control Unit precisely monitors and controls air-fuel ratio, fuel injection and ignition timing for maximum performance and fuel economy.



A special microprocessor controlled "compound" engine mount on automatic transmission models significantly lowers engine vibration at idle.

An all-new electronically controlled 4-speed automatic transmission has both normal and sport shift modes. When sport mode is selected, upshifts are delayed resulting in quicker acceleration and better hill climbing response.

The addition of a sophisticated secondary balancer system has significantly reduced engine vibration by 80%.

1990 Accord

**HONDA**

Remember your seat belts  
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## A Cure For Cabin Fever.



Enter now into the most spacious Accord ever. A place where you may never hear, "How much further to go Dad?" again.

The lengthened cabin and significantly larger glass area create a bright, airy relaxed environment of total comfort with almost 300° of unrestricted view.

Accord's new ventilation system is quieter and more efficient while providing up to 500 cubic metres per hour of air flow in a much improved cooling and heating system.

The Accord's instrument panel is a quieter, industry-leading one piece design. The analogue instruments and controls are in clear sight and easy reach.

Rear air restrained seat belt system not available in Canada.

**1990 Accord**  
**HONDA**

Remember your seat belts  
like a simple fact of life.



# RESIST THE USUAL

TASTE  
THE  
REWARDS



## LETTERS

### TOPPLING EMPIRES

According to Peter C. Newman ("Spectre's fall of a titan," *Banana Watch*, Sept. 25), "Robert Campa's empire is tottering, sending its founders to a minority position." As with all empires and high rollers, their empire may topple but they still walk away with millions to start over. If you think that Campa's cowboy lifestyle will change one iota as the result of his failures, don't hold your breath.

Dr Lawrence F. Green,  
Mississauga, Ont.

### UNCHARITABLE TAX

While I agreed with the comments expressed in "Struggling for dollars" (*Letters*, Sept. 25), you should be aware that Michael Wilson's proposed nine-per-cent sales tax will hurt many charities. Under his proposed regulations, only those registered charities or nonprofit societies that receive more than 50-per-cent government funding will be eligible for a partial rebate on sales tax paid on goods and services. I am treasurer of a nonprofit society in Vancouver which works hard at fund-raising. Because it does not require more than 50-per-cent government funding, it will receive no rebate. These charities and nonprofit societies that are not a burden on taxpayers should be eligible for a partial rebate.

Darren Low,  
Vancouver

### NATTERING NABOBS

One would prefer that John Bourne did not enjoy *The Phantom of the Opera* ("The Phantom strikes," *Theatre*, Oct. 2). Well, the Phantom-going public appears to like what's new and bizarre. Could it be that they are being overexposed? Blanketed lyrics, a stilted and tedious show? Let's have more of them and, for good measure, let's toss in a few tarts and a sprinkle of schlock. Most of us are looking for a little escapism in our lives. Back to the nattering nabobs of negativism.

Kim Orlitz,  
Ottawa

### CONFUSING ANNOUNCEMENT

I am continuing to see a minor public servant given recognition by one of Canada's leading magazines (*Passages*, Oct. 2). But perhaps you could have made sure that Wendy Delano's name was spelled correctly. There may be question by her colleagues worldwide whether it is actually Delano who has emerged as associate deputy minister of finance.

Jean Orlitz,  
Ottawa

## THE HEART AND SEOUL OF SOUTHEAST ASIA.



Singapore Airlines offers you convenient nonstop service from Vancouver to the ancient city of Seoul, Korea. We depart every Monday and Friday at 10:30 pm. Both flights arrive in Seoul at 3:30 pm the following day, then continue on to Singapore, non-stop. En route, you'll enjoy all

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Introducing three exciting new 4.0 litre Jaguars for 1990. Civilized, but never tame, the elegant new Jaguar Sovereign and XJ6 sedans are quicker, more silent, more functional, and offer better value than ever before.

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A new 4.0 litre, twin overhead cam aluminum alloy engine, with four valves per cylinder and

sophisticated engine management system, is the heart of this powerful new breed of cars. In terms of increased power and torque, it is a significant engineering achievement. In driver's terms, these automobiles spring off the mark with athletic ease and, in full stride, deliver smooth silent power.

A new 4-speed automatic transmission, designed especially for the new 4.0 litre engine offers a *Normal Mode*, for everyday driving, and a special *Sport Mode*, should you decide to explore the maximum range of all four gears. On rough or winding roads, the *Sport Mode* adds an exciting new dimension to driving exhilaration.

A new Teves anti-lock braking system, with

improved thermal capacity, delivers exceptional pedal feel and brake response. In short, at every level of the performance spectrum, the new 4.0 litre Jaguars will earn your enthusiasm and respect.

A new instrument configuration follows the classic Jaguar tradition to simplify the driving experience. Analogue instruments and gauges communicate driving information at a glance. "Secret-dial-lit" vehicle condition monitors minimize distortion. The magnificent woodwork and rich leather you would expect to find in a Jaguar's interior are, of course, present in generous proportions. Overall, it is an environment of luxury. Jaguar comfort, and refined operating ease.

A new, comprehensive 24-hour roadside emergency service plan - Club Jaguar - provides an added measure of motoring security wherever you drive in Canada or the United States.

A new no-charge scheduled maintenance plan, also part of Club Jaguar, offers regularly scheduled maintenance at no-charge for the full 3-year or 60,000 km warranty period.

For more information on this powerful new breed of cars and Club Jaguar, contact your nearest authorized Jaguar dealer or send your business card to:

Jaguar Canada Inc., Communication Services,  
Indell Lane, Bramalea, Ontario L6T 4H3.

\*Manufacturer's suggested retail selling price: \$39,995.  
excluding local freight. Dealer may sell for less.



**JAGUAR**

A BLENDING OF ART AND MACHINE

## LETTERS

### JUST PLAIN FUN

How suspicious of Maclean's is to present an article on such an obvious topic? ("The myth of exodus," Cover, Oct. 21). As a sport constantly censured for being too slow, too dull, and too prosaic, baseball has come through again. It is a game we can all enjoy. When hockey is violent, football rugged, and soccer too intense, baseball is just plain fun.

Michael A. Ternani,  
Burlonville, Ont.

### GERMAN EXODUS

Your statement that 12 million East Germans "fled to the West in the 13 years up to 1986" is misleading ("A mass exodus," World, Sept. 28). Before the current exodus, only about three million are estimated to have "voted with their feet since 1945" by escaping from East Germany for a better life in the West. Your total includes the earlier westward movement of almost 30 million expatriates and refugees from the traditionally German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line (the present border between East Germany and Poland), as well as at least one million refugees from beyond traditional Germany.

Alvin Eisenstat  
The Post, Max

### EXPANDING AMTRAK?

Is it too wild an assumption to suppose that the inherent basis with which the federal government is determined to denationalize Via Rail at the same time that AMTRAK in the United States is expanding its services, is because AMTRAK will eventually be invited to extend its services into Canada?

Richard Westland,  
Winnipeg

### GROUNDLESS GOSSIP

In the Sept. 28 Opening Note "An invitation with no return," you state that Dennis Mills arranged for 49 players' wives to visit in Ontario, and that they "displayed no gratitude." In fact, the 27-foot 463 employees of the Best of the West program are very grateful for the opportunity. The writer of the article should have contacted the players at the Best of the West program rather than relying on the pacy gossip of a few Ottawa hacks.

Mike McDonald,  
President,  
B.C. Young Lancers,  
Ranawamer

"Now that we know where we use our energy, we can start saving on energy costs."

David Lewis / The Canadian Press/Industrials, Sylva Peper / London

"As one of London's largest building developers, we want to set an example in energy saving. So, we thought we'd give the Power Savers Plan a try."

Consumers from Ontario Hydro and the London P.U.C. visited our multi-tenant office building at 285 King Street in London to audit our energy consumption. Airport was prepared which identified areas where we could save power. It showed us that lighting accounted for over 25% of the building's energy costs and made recommendations on how to reduce those costs by as much as \$6,864 in the first year.

The Power Savers Plan also made recommendations in areas other than lighting — some as simple as reducing hot water temperatures and shutting off the air conditioning when the building is unoccupied.

We were impressed by the in-depth analysis of the Plan and by the cost feasibility of all the recommendations made. Overall, Ontario Hydro showed us how we could save more than \$145,000 over the next 10 years. That in itself, makes the Power Savers Plan well worth looking at!

For more information about the Power Savers Plan, contact your local Hydro Office.

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ontario hydro



# OPENING NOTES

Sarah annoys the Queen, Brian Mulroney moves up, and Peter Pocklington strikes out

## EVERY PICTURE TELLS A STORY

Mille MacLennan brought hope to many refugees last week when she visited a transit camp 90 km west of the Malaysian capital of Kuala Lumpur. There, as many of the 7,000 Vietnamese who live in the Sungai Best Refugee Camp crowded around her, the wife of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney told them that Canada is prepared to accept more of their number. (Canada now accepts about 125,000 immigrants and refugees a year from around the world.) MacLennan was demonstrating her husband's intent at last week's Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur, and her visit of the camp included a brief stop at Canada House.



MacLennan: a presidential portrait

It is a modest, two-story structure where refugees who have gained entry to Canada receive a four-day orientation course in the customs and practices of their new homeland. To their aid, the Canadian volunteers who lead the sessions at Canada's political system frequently point to two matching sets that usually hang on the classroom walls: framed pictures of Mulroney and Opposition Leader John Turner. The volunteers acknowledge that they had shifted MacLennan's picture to a more prominent location at the front of the room and, for the duration of his wife's visit to the camp, removed Turner's likeness from public view. The officials said that they had no pictures of New Democratic Party Leader Edward Broadbent—adding that they will not acquire any because Broadbent will relocate his post to party leader in December.

## Showdown in a parking garage

On Oct. 2, Edmonton entrepreneur Peter Padgett had just finished on a previous film—and faced the prospect of losing his next—when reporter John Colborn approached him. The Edmonton Sun killed two of its staffers approached the businessman in the parking garage below his office that day. There, Padgett raced out when Sun reporter John Colborn introduced himself. The story got photographer Ruth Eloković to say: "I saw Pocklington's car coming toward me and that John's head popped back." The unprinted article goes on to say that Padgett arrived at Colborn's before dinner in a black Mercedes while Colborn's colleague at the Sun says that he decided not to press charges after Pocklington telephoned the reporter and expressed his regrets, adding that he had had a bad day still, maybe Sun staffers say that the newspaper should have run the story. For his part, editor David Bailey said that the Sun had not published the piece because "I am not sure what went on."



Pocklington telephoned regrets after a bad day  
his regrets, adding that he had had a bad day still, maybe Sun staffers say that the newspaper should have run the story. For his part, editor David Bailey said that the Sun had not published the piece because "I am not sure what went on."

## BUGGING THE BUREAUCRATS

Federal bureaucrats are clutching their hands over a problem besetting the veterans' affairs department's new headquarters in Charlottetown. More than 20 employees of a 750-member staff in the \$12-million building have complained about issues since late May. Veterans' affairs managers have spent \$2,100 furnishing the offices—but turned up only one desk free. Said a department spokesman: "There has to be a place here somewhere—but, so far, nothing." Getting the bugs out of a new building can take longer than expected.



Duchess of York; Queen Elizabeth II: big money from children's books

## A REGAL RIFT OVER ROYALTIES

British tabloid newspapers have frequently criticized the Duchess of York for indifference towards her royal duties. So when the former Sarah Ferguson, who is widely known by the nickname Fergie, approached the duchess last summer when she published two children's books, entitled *Bridget the Little Helicopter* and *Bridget at Beaufort's Point*, now, however, Royal watchers say that her charity efforts have generated a dispute between Fergie and her mother-in-law,

Queen Elizabeth II. That is because the duchess has stated she expects to pay most of the \$1.9 million in royalties that the books are expected to generate. According to palace insiders, the Queen would prefer her to give the entire amount to charity—because Sarah and her husband, Prince Andrew, already enjoy a \$289,000 tax-free government salary. But the rehired duchess has not announced any change in her plan. For some, Royal charity begins at home.

**A reputation for riches**

It is among the most fashionable—and expensive—addresses in New York City. But when Town & Country magazine published a list of Fifth Avenue's most rich and influential residents, it named Bruce Gold, director of the U.S. Information Agency. That overnight was swiftly nixed by John O'Halloran, the superintendent of 1666 Fifth Ave., where Gold has his apartment. The reason? O'Halloran wrongly made the list. Acknowledged the magazine's managing editor, Diane Gammie: "We didn't know who she was." Alongside with the rich can be cheap—on paper, at least.



Seized plane: Flying a cloud of illegal drugs

## Costly weapons of war

Let's do the billion-dollar trade in illegal drugs. Under that law, no one can seize my aircraft that drug offenders gain through drug crimes or money laundering. But, according to a recently completed U.S. government study, a similar U.S. law that comes into effect in 1989 has done little to hold the flow of illegal drugs into that country—and has cost taxpayers millions of dollars. The reason: the high cost of seizing seized assets. In one case, the report noted that authorities had spent \$4,000 on storage fees for a 15-ton marijuana—worth about \$1,150—which they had stored off the coast of Maine a year ago. Indeed, U.S. Customs officials stored 2,000 cases that they had confiscated from drug smugglers this year—only to realize a net loss of about \$330 per case when they sold the vehicles. Said Representative Jim Price, chairman of the House ways and means committee: "A program designed to take the fruits of drug smuggling from the criminals has actually drained scarce dollars. It might be better to scrap the forfeiture and just pull the plug on the seized assets and let them sink into the ocean." The challenge to Canadian law enforcement agencies is clear: to get a better price for illegitimate gains.

## SOUVENIR OF A SUMMER VACATION

Felix Hofmann, the Montrealer who hosted Conservative policy vetting in South Africa last August, also organized a Johannesburg film-festival where he encountered Herve, White Al Venter, a former Huart Huis refugee to Hofmann—and *McLean's*'s—on Oct. 13. "I have found out telephoned you on several occasions about the anti-apartheid arms which I gave you on your recent hunting trip." But in Ottawa, a Hofmann aide said that the air had not yet broken this videotape two weeks ago—in mailing Huis telephoned with the arrival of Venter's disengaging letter. In any event, Hofmann returns to apologize for his controversial trip. He said, "When I ate with any one and my memory is made of anyone's dinner business."

## CUTTING UP BEST-SELLERS

During his visit to The Wing International Festival of Authors in Toronto last week, French writer Martin Amis remained seated by his friend and colleague Salman Rushdie. The author of the novel *The Satanic Verses* has been in the news since February, when then-Indian leader Atal Bihari Vajpayee condemned his to death on the grounds that Rushdie had blasphemed Islam. But Amis recalled his past role as editor and Rushdie's concern about their joint dialogue for Robert Ludlum, the author of such best-selling thrillers as *The Hunt for Red October* and *The Scarface Jack*.



Rushdie: a double life for crypto critics

Amis, in turn, asked Ludlum to defend that *Shakespeare's play, "Hamlet"* would be known in Persia as *Hamlet*.



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## COLUMN



# Quebec's powerful secret weapon

BY DUANE FRANCIS

**O**n Sept. 27, two days after the Quebec provincial election, in a low-level skirmish in east-end Montreal, one of the province's most important institutions, the giant pension-fund manager Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec, those party journalists asked about tapping their wealth to prevent the takeover of an official history of the Caisse (called *La Matière à méditer*) by Quebec grocer Jean Coutu, whose directors are supported by the provincial government but are autonomous by law. Said Coutu: "We are looking for profit, short-term and long-term. We will evaluate offers and pick the best one. As offer doesn't have to be Canadian, but if two offers are equal, we will choose the Canadian bid over the foreign bid."

The Caisse is a pension-fund powerhouse that can make or break corporate takeovers. Its influence, or decline, for a company can determine that company's future. But the Caisse has added dimension in that effective management of economic retrenchment, a market-oriented alternative, which other governments avoided, is the way now-day free-market interventions would do well to imitate.

The Caisse started 24 years ago to administer a pension fund of the Quebec Pension Plan, run up by Ottawa and the provinces in 1965. But comparatively absent from the book records was Caisse's record and current Party Québécois Leader André Boisclair, from Saguenay, who once was an adviser to former Liberal premier Jean Lesage in the 1960s, is also a brilliant economist. While with Lesage, he favored the principle of creating a large pool of capital for national purposes and had convinced Lesage to turn permission from the federal government to let Quebec manage the Canada Pension Plan funds collected in Quebec. The federal government agreed, and at the same time it took the contributions collected to the new ether provinces and repositioned, and proportionately, invested them in pension fund pools.

Tapping pools of pension capital to create

pools in Canada, or to enhance economic activity, is not unique to Quebec. Alberta's and Saskatchewan's so-called heritage funds, derived from surplus oil-and-gas royalties, do the same. These pension-fund pension funds in Canada are forced to invest at least 90 per cent of their portfolios here at home. But the Caisse is anomalous. Since \$200 million is invested in small Quebec enterprises, and a relatively high portion, after 1993 before the first few years of its existence, is invested in the stock market, mainly in companies with Quebec head offices. What also sets the Caisse apart from other big pension investors is its emphasis upon board representation. It gets shareholders to nominate high-level further leverages to influence.

Today, the Caisse also outperforms most other pension plans, including private-sector ones, and has even diversified into managing money for others. The majority of its funds are now comprised of the pension savings of Ontario's construction workers and civil servants as well as pensions generated by the province's Workmen's Compensation Board and the province's auto-insurance scheme. This will ensure the Caisse's survival in light of the fact that the Canada and Quebec pension plan portfolios are shrinking each year as worker

contributions decline and payments increase due to the aging population.

The Caisse is so pervasive that it has been involved, directly or indirectly, in virtually every major takeover in Canada's management arena. Most recently, Manulife Inc.'s purchase of Financial Leasing Ltd. (parent of the BankAmericard), Lufthansa's bid for Air Canada, the Caisse's battle for Quebec grocery giant St-Germain Inc. (bought by the Caisse and the Montreal-based transportation company Société Interprovinciale), and the possible forced takeover of Contingent Resources Inc. (now Riva) when the Caisse isn't involved as a takeover, it can get dragged into it. This year, some critics suggested that the Caisse should have tried to prevent the takeover of Montreal-based Consolidated-BellSouth Inc. by U.S. interests. "We have no foreign ownership policy," says Caisse chairman Jean Coutu, whose directors are appointed by the provincial government but are autonomous by law. Said Coutu: "We are looking for profit, short-term and long-term. We will evaluate offers and pick the best one. As offer doesn't have to be Canadian, but if two offers are equal, we will choose the Canadian bid over the foreign bid."

The Caisse, deliberately and selectively, studies the occasionally contradictory goals of maximizing profits while minimizing jobs in Quebec. "We cannot encourage companies we own to build plants in Quebec to create jobs that leave money." But compensation is that accepting accounting services from a Montreal firm instead of one from somewhere else will make me very happy," explains senior vice-president Michel Nadeau, who is in charge of variable savings investments. While conventional economic instruments rule at the Caisse's acceptance of foreign takeovers, they forget how much subtle influence it exerts through board representation or the fact that its ownership in a company virtually eliminates an actively-taxed taxpayer.

Indeed, it is bad to look like a socialist. Miramax is looking for Caisse support before proceeding because the Caisse owned about 30 per cent of Miramax's stock. Similarly, the Caisse swooped the Caisse by toppling a competing consortium and by giving the Caisse what was considered a 25-per-cent-plus-of-stock for St-Germain's real estate holdings.

Thus, the success of the Caisse's effectiveness—profits before policies, which at any organization where managing other people's money. But, whenever possible, the Caisse also respects Canadian interests to probably move Canadian interests. "Of course there are priorities," says Coutu. "The money called me about the St-Germain bid because he was concerned that its head office might move out of Quebec. But that is normal. Any pension or concerned about head offices moving. He also called about the sale of Consolidated-BellSouth Inc. [By State Container Corp. of Chicago last January]. But we had only three to four per cent of Caisse BellSouth, and there was no chance to do anything to match that bid. With St-Germain, we could do something that was profitable to us. So we did."

# BY POPULAR DEMAND

A RETIRED  
GENERAL WINS  
ALBERTA'S  
UNIQUE ELECTION  
TO CHOOSE A  
SENATOR

**T**he crowd in the banquet hall of Calgary's Glencoe Inn left little doubt that, in their words, the man they had gathered to cheer was already a member of Canada's upper chamber. As his supporters chanted "Senator, senator," 69-year-old retired general Stanley Waters stepped to the front of the hall to declare his victory in Alberta's unprecedented Senate nomination election. Called by Premier Donald Getty on Sept. 11 to press his demand for Senate reform, the election was the first to give Canadian voters the chance to choose a senator to fill a vacant Senate seat. In his victory speech, Waters, the candidate for the upstart Alberta-based Reform Party of Canada, announced true to its anti-Ottawa platform that it would nominate its own senators by amending the Canadian Constitution.

He added: "We will do our best to



Waters last week's vote intensified the debate over Senate reform and Meech Lake

Ottawa and the process to choosing senators. Reform advocates such as New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna say that more sensible agreement on Senate reform is needed before the accord is ratified. But Ottawa and Quebec are committed to passing Meech Lake as drafted, says one of their negotiators. Meanwhile, there was uncertainty in Waters' strongly anti-Meech stance: his election came about because of a variation Getty introduced to another of the accord's terms—one that permits provincial premiers to nominate Senate appointments to the Prime Minister. Getty said that he would accept Waters' election as the non-negotiable. But although the premier sent a letter to the Prime Minister late last week, it was not known whether it contained only Waters' name, or a list of nominees headed by Waters as the election winner.

If Waters gets to the Senate, he will share in the considerable powers endowed on the chamber—on paper at least—by the Constitutional Act of 1982. Despite those formal powers,

however, critics have demanded the Senate as a haven for political patronage opponents. Some senators express their frustration with this usage, including former Montreal broadcaster Solange Daigle (Riding: page 25). Others point out that the chamber has recently taken a more active part in parliamentary decision making, mainly because the Liberals, in opposition in the Commons, have a majority in the Senate (page 27).

**Influence:** In 1985 Alberta officially threw its weight behind the concept of a Triple E Senate—one that is elected, has equal representation from all the provinces and exercises effective powers (page 30). Such a reformed upper chamber, Getty argues, would give the less populous provinces more influence over decisions made in Ottawa—and the ability to expedite legislation deemed harmful to specific regions.

But although Ottawa and the provinces have, to varying degrees, expressed their support for changes to the Senate, no clear consensus on reforms has yet emerged. Moreover, the prospec-

tives for success have become tangled with the fate of the Meech Lake accord, which, by common agreement among Ottawa and the provinces, is ratified by next June or later. But the accord is now embroiled with both Manitoba and New Brunswick vying to end it, and Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wallis threatening to rescind his province's approved amends amendments are cause.

Waters' election victory again focused debate on the so-called Meech Lake issue and that he is bound to act in the spirit of the accord when making Senate appointments, prolong a debate from a list of nominees supplied by the province of the province where the Senate vacancy occurs. But last week, the Prince Minister rejected his insistence that Alberta's Senate election was unconstitutional. Meech Lake, he said, calls for the provinces to submit not one name of an election winner, but "names—plural." The reason was spoken in part by the reason that proposing an anti-Ottawa Reform Party member to the Senate

would unbalance elections. Faced with a slate of ten Senate candidates more than 257,000 of them voted for Waters' election, the member supporting Liberal cause-up William Cadie, who headed Alberta's recent public inquiry into the collapse of the Princess Group Consortium, concluded Bert Brown, chairman of the 800-member Alberta-based Committee for a Triple E Senate, came third with about 32,000 votes.

**Softball:** For his part, McKenna said that the Prince Minister would have political difficulties if he ignored Waters' election. And he added, "The Meech Lake debate should be expanded. I hope that it would culminate in a parallel accord, which would include Senate reform." But Ontario Premier David Peterson, for one, dismissed that notion. Although Peterson reaffirmed his support of Senate reform, he said that "the first priority is Meech Lake." Added Peterson, "You are not going to get serious discussions on the issue until Quebec is part of the Constitution. If Quebec doesn't go through, it is going to set back the discussions of Senate reform for a long time."

For Getty, meanwhile, last week's election had ramifications that extended beyond the constitutional debate. Alberta's history is rich in sweeping political change, from the Liberals' victory in 1905 to the United Farmers of Alberta in 1935 and that party's 1965 loss to Premier William Aberhart's Social Credit party. In the end, of Alberta's identity in 1971, when Peter Lougheed's Tories swept to power. Some observers turned Brown's poor showing for the Tories last week a sign of voter disaffection with Getty's government—and of its vulnerability to the Reform Party. The party was formed in 1987 to provide Albertans with a federal voice, and, under the leadership of Edmonton businessman Conrad Black, elected Peter Lougheed Getty as its leader. Last March, Getty as mounting pressure within the party to contest the next provincial election.

"There is room for a provincial party," said Charles Best, president of Alberta's Reform Party. "In Alberta, voters become disillusioned and feel there is a place to go to—a party." Getty can only hope that his campaign to win a seat against Parliament Hill does not propel him down a slippery slope at home.

**FEETED KORVILLOPULIS AND JOHN MORSE:** On Aug. 20, Ontario Superior Court jury in Toronto found James Rathbone, 21, guilty of first-degree murder in the 1986 torture, rape and killing of Tracy Brown, 17. Rathbone, who had testified that he was "kissed" on the lip at the time of the killing, was sentenced to life in prison with no chance of parole for 25 years. Another youth, 18, is awaiting trial.

## National Notes

### BUDGET CONVICTION

The Ontario provincial court judge Frank Brian McCaughey, 59, guilty of possession of a handgun for his Waterfront project in London, Ontario, has been fined \$1,000. The accused, who was an employee of the federal government printing office and who was fired last month, pleaded that he took the handgun from work at his office and gave it to a friend, Robert McPhee, whose father works for Michael Lee of Canada. McCaughey faces a penalty of up to six months in jail and a \$3,000 fine.

### TRANSPORT PANEL NAMED

The appointment announced Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of overhauling with Conservatives a royal commission that will look into passenger transportation in Canada in the 21st century. Mulroney named Louis Hyattman, a former Alberta Tory provincial treasurer, to chair the commission. Among the eight other appointees: Susan Fox, a former Conservative provincial cabinet minister in Ontario, and John Hamilton, a former Tory MP.

### FELION STUDIES FRENCH

Montreal Premier Garry Filmon, who once opposed extending French language rights in his province, said that he has been studying the language with a positive attitude for more than six months. Declared Filmon: "I am not doing it as a gesture. I see it as a very useful and practical skill."

### YEAR IN NEW BRUNSWICK

Hundreds of local residents of Newcastle, N.B., held a meeting to criticize the RCMP and police for their lack of progress in finding out who is responsible for killing three women and brutally beating four others at four separate incidents in the area since May.

### AN IRISH FROWN WILDS

Newfoundland Premier Frank Wells, who says that the 1987 March Lake constitutional accord would weaken Canada and Newfoundland if implemented, gave formal notice in a letter to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney that he will rescind the approval granted by former premier Stan Perleford unless the pact is amended.

### A LIFE SENTENCE

An Ontario Superior Court jury in Toronto found James Rathbone, 21, guilty of first-degree murder in the 1986 torture, rape and killing of Tracy Brown, 17. Rathbone, who had testified that he was "kissed" on the lip at the time of the killing, was sentenced to life in prison with no chance of parole for 25 years. Another youth, 18, is awaiting trial.



Getty seeking more provincial influence in Ottawa

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SPECIAL REPORT

## OLD POWERS, NEW STRENGTHS

## **LIBERALS FLEX THEIR SENATE MUSCLE**

**N**either Norga's family nor members at the August world of Red Chamber politics, senators once watched over their sons. As a rookie Conservative senator from Winnipeg in 1982, Norga was assigned to attack the Liberal government's proposed employment tax credit bill. The bill was sponsored in the Senate by the late senator John Connally, a pragmatist, Liberal fund-raiser and one of the chamber's most powerful senators. Norga and Connally sat across from each other at the drafting task ahead, Norga in the Liberal袍子 and Connally in his. Both men had been raised on how to attack the legislature. The next day, over a drink in the Liberal senator's office, the normally astute Connally set aside party differences in order to advise the pro-government senator, as he was required in the bill's committee stage, on how to reword the bill.

After the senator finished his speech in the Senate the following day, casually en titled his "statement of preparation," Norga retorted: "You do not see that kind of consideration anywhere," added the Troy senator. "The Senate is now a much more partisan place."

**Context:** To be sure, friendships across parties have not disappeared. Still, since Senate debates became caustic exchanges, for one thing, with less-easy public and press galleries, and for TV cameras to record debates, senators are not inclined to grandstand. And 21 st-century senators speak during successive Liberal governments in the House of Commons, the Senate's Liberal majority was relatively content to rubber-stamp legislation in the lower chamber. But in 1956, when the Conservatives formed their first majority government,

The Senate chamber: more "relevant"

present since 1960, the political dynamics of the Senate altered drastically.

The closest major-stacking Tory bill descended from the party's Senate leadership — specifically the former parlance Senate opposition leader Alan J. MacEachen. Frustrated by what many Liberal senators saw as their growing opposition in the Commons by John Turner of the Liberal 30%, MacEachen frequently invoked the considerable powers granted the Senate under the Constitution to challenge the governing government (page 28).  
Says MacEachen, an MP for 27 years and a senior senator in several Liberal cabinets: "I suppose the supporters of the government would like us to be asleep in the Senate because it would take like sunburn for them. But that's not my role as a relevant legislative body."

MacEachern has used his power to delay some important pieces of Tory legislation, notably the Meech Lake constitutional amendments and the Free Trade Agreement with the United States. In doing so, "Mike 7," as he is respectfully referred to by colleagues, has established his reputation as a sly political tactician whose penchant for secrecy provides insulation among Tory senators. Sen. Conservative deputy government leader William D. Clegg, who is a former MacEachern ally, "I appeal so much effort trying to find out what will and will not be paid after I tell you what my legislation will be triggered." He spent all day, close to seven hours, MacEachern, 70,

Part of MacEachen's strength stems from his obvious fact that there are 50 states

## SPECIAL REPORT

Liberals in the Senate, who easily outvote the 23 Tories. That majority also allows the Liberals to control the 13 permanent committees where most significant Senate business occurs. Senate committees have the power to amend legislation and they control the speed with which Commons legislation receives upper house approval—a necessary step before any bill is passed into law.

In the past, some senators argued some committee chairmen as visible symbols of abuse of power on behalf of special interests. The late senator Salter Hoyles, for example, chaired the Senate Banking, Trade and Commerce Committee for 38 years until 1983, while simultaneously holding 18 corporate directorships, including that of a chartered bank. Since then, the Senate has instructed its committee members to divest themselves of any personal holdings that might conflict with their committee work.

**Spottis:** As well, some senators insist that only a few of their colleagues— notably Vancouver senator Maxwell Lowson, who seldom attends sittings—perpetuate the party attendance that gives their house a reputation for chronic absenteeism. Next year, the senators are expected to introduce a new set of rules on party attendance, which would make any senator's absence a matter of public record. And last week, a committee of government senators—most of whom are moderate changes that could threaten the senator's generous salaries of \$66,800 a year and expense allowance of \$6,600. It also called for a reduction in the number of days of debate that



MacEachen: 'We have a majority, let's use it.'

MacEachen said, "We have a majority, let's use it." But many of us were uncomfortable with that. Eventually, consensus took, though it was enough. And we let the bill go through." Now, MacEachen is cause selective, to the occasional dismay of his own colleagues. Liberal Senator Shirley Burkhardt, for one, who now chairs the banking committee, recently lamented to colleagues that he wanted his committee to hold cross-country hearings on the proposed Goods and Services Tax. "I would love to take you guys over the coals," he told Tory fellow senators. "But Alan J. won't let me."

**Mouse:** But MacEachen's tactics clearly irritated his Tory opponents. Last October, Senator Paul Davis, a respected Quebec cardiologist appointed to the chamber in 1985, "The Senate has the capacity to be a more productive place if it were not so partisan." In fact, many observers point to the presence of energetic new senators such as David and Richard Dayley of Ontario to show that the Senate now boasts talented members and is no longer merely a refuge for party loyalists. Last summer Larry Zoll, whose 1984 book, *Senate of the Few*, skewered Senate practices

There appears to be a desire between working and non-working senators, says MacEachen, to "use the traditional canards of the unselected Senate, like, the temptation to make partisan use of its constitutional muscle is likely to strengthen."

DAVID WALLACE with LISA KAY DUNN  
in Ottawa

## A RED-CHAMBER POWER BROKER

He is, in the words of one senior Mulroney adviser, "the very strongest, most formidable senator"—spouting an invective that no one will ever see, but that we will most likely get caught up. But last week, Senator Alan J. MacEachen discussed that characterization of his role as leader of the opposition in the Senate. "The notion that I'm strong here saying 'What can I do next to cause trouble?' is childish," he told Marlowe's.

MacEachen's potential for making trouble for the Conservative government stems from his ability, as leader of the Liberal majority in the Senate, to demand amendments to its legislation. He has exercised that power on several occasions, most notably in August, 1988, when Liberal senators refused to pass the Tories' free trade legislation, effectively forcing Mulroney to call

an election. That political maneuver was—according to the shifty political strategists—effective, and completely within the constitutional mandate of the Senate. Last week, MacEachen, 48, defended the action. "Announcing or delivering bills is our job," he said. "Why the hell should the taxpayers hand us money just to decide on legislation?"

Such defensiveness is not new to MacEachen, the son of a Cape Breton coal miner who was born in Inverness, N.S. He followed his way through university, eventually earning degrees in political economy from St. Francis Xavier in Antigonish, N.S., and the University of Toronto. After earning the Nova Scotia school's department of economics and social sciences, MacEachen got elected as the MP for Lower Kingsburg in 1983. He became leader minister under Lester Pearson in 1983 and held a succession of senior portfolios, including Finance and External Affairs under Pierre Trudeau, and his 1984 appointment to the Senate.

A lifelong bachelor, MacEachen has maintained a reputation over 28 years as a relentlessly partisan, aggressive and brazenly calculating politi-

cian. But those who know him best say that he is also down-to-earth—and deeply sentimental about his Nova Scotia heritage. Indeed, MacEachen, who speaks fluent French, once threatened, after a few sets of Devoeys, to fire an aide who had insulted the memory of George Price Charlie Bell (obviously, and one assumes, a lover), he loves and breathes politics. "He makes all his moves smooth ahead so that when the impact of felt, he is nowhere to be found," the source added.

For his part, MacEachen said that he is in love of an elected Senate. "I would run myself," he said. "The best way to give the Senate legitimacy is to have it elected." Until then, MacEachen will continue to use the powers of the Senate to their hilt. "I have never thought it was the role of legislators to make life easy for the government," he said. "And the debate over Senate reform, and his reminder of the existing, and potential, power of the Red Chamber

LISA VAN DUSEN in Ottawa

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# THE TRIPLE E OPTION

## REFORMERS SEEK A NEW-LOOK SENATE

**T**hroughout his seven-year, cross-country crusade for an elected, equal and effective (Triple E) Senate, Canadian senator James Barr Brown has made hundreds of speeches and lobbied dozens of politicians. He has also encountered both scorn and skepticism. In 1983, recalls the founder of the 8,000-member Canadian Coalition for a Triple E Senate, a reporter at Calgary's *Stampede* told him that he was "the most politically naïve human being in Canada." Four years later, following a dinner meeting of Alberta Conservatives at Calgary's Palace Hotel, Brown asked External Affairs Minister Joe Clark if he supported a Triple E Senate. Declared Clark dismissively: "It's a load-balanced idea that is going nowhere. Now, despite his own doubts at last week's Alberta Senate nomination election—he came a distant third as the Conservative candidate—and the uncertain prospects for Senate reform, Brown remains committed to the idea as ever. "We went as much time for all the processes at the national level," he said, "and we will do nothing less."

**Bronchado** Brown's dogged determination to reform Canada's Senate reflects a disenchantment with the structure of Canada's federal government that goes well beyond the Alberta roots of the campaign for a Triple E. Upper-tier Atlantic Canada as well, critics contend, that the present arrangement of an appointed Senate and an appointed Senate favors Ontario and Quebec. Those provinces, now accounting for 32 per cent of Canada's voters have a dominating 171 (29 per cent of the 295 Senate seats), which are distributed according to population. At the same time, advocates of reform argue that the existing 104-seat, government-appointed Senate has failed to perform the function that the Fathers of Confederation intended for it: giving the smaller provinces an effective voice at the federal level to protect their regional interests. Reformers argue that appointed senators lack the authority to oversee the Senate's considerable constitutional powers. In addition, federally appointed senators are subject to the same party discipline as members of Parliament and therefore seldom speak for the provinces they actually represent (Honourable Prince Edward Island Senator Joseph Ghiz of the federal government: "We get the feeling we don't count in Ottawa. The national interest be-

comes synonymous with the interests of Ontario and Quebec."

But while many political observers concede that the present parliamentary system leaves Central Canada, there is little agreement either about the prospects for reform or about



Voting for a nominee in Alberta: an elected Senate would have new moral authority

what model of reformed Senate would be best. Critics of the Triple E concept argue that central Canadians will never accept a Senate that gives Prince Edward Island, with a population of 128,000 people, equal representation with Ontario, which has 9.3 million residents. Said political scientist Peterman Lyon, who recently graduated from De-

troit's Carleton University: "I would object like hell. It would be abhorrent." Other critics of the Triple E concept argue that it could result in regions and make Canada's politics ungovernable. Terrence Morley, a political science professor at the University of Victoria, said that there could be political stalemate when conflicts erupt between the House of Commons and an elected Senate. Said Morley: "If we had a more power-

ful Senate, things could go bad in a hurry." Such doubts, however, do not find a voice in the Alberta government. In both 1985 and 1986, under premiers Peter Lougheed and Donald Getty, the Alberta legislature voted by an overwhelming margin to adopt a task-force

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have 24 seats, the four western provinces have a total of 24, Newfoundland has six, and the Yukon and the Northwest Territories have one each. Alberta would reduce that to 44—six from each province and two each for the territories. Yukon would elect three of each province's senators during each provincial election, and instead of serving a quad age of 75, senators would sit for the life of two legislatures, or a maximum of 33 years.

**Overrule:** Alberta who proposes that senators from the west protest all together, regardless of party affiliation. That arrangement would always pit government and opposition senators in the Senate. As well, the positions of government and opposition leaders would be reshuffled. The new upper chamber would be run by a Senate executive council made up of the chairmen of the 10 provincial delegations. Alberta proposes that this council and the agenda of the Senate be referred to committees. And in order to review the proposed legislation, Alberta's vision of a Triple E Senate provides a mechanism to defuse confrontation between the House of Commons and the upper chamber. In the case of bills that involved spending public money, the Alberta proposal would allow the Commons to override a Senate veto or amendment by a simple majority. All other bills would require a second Commons vote carried by a majority larger than the Senate vote to overrule the bill.

Over the past year, an Alberta-based Senate reform has presented the provincial proposals to senior government officials in Ottawa as well as to the other 11 provinces and



Wells: 'The current system is not acceptable'

provincial premiers, including Newfoundland's Cycle Wells and Manitoba's Gary Filmon, have emerged as supporters of Senate reform. Senator Wells' "The current system is not acceptable" is democratic source. Senate reform is essential." For his part, Filmon said: "We're at the mercy of the great population centers where

territorial capitals. Non-tidal-force member Peter MacLean, a vice-president of the University of Alberta, "I didn't see a lot of assistance to an elected Senate." In fact, some

it comes to decisions made in the Commons, I believe the Senate should be an offset to that." The Manitoba premier acknowledged that a more effective Senate might undermine the role of provincial leaders. But, he told MacLean's, "I don't have any difficulty with that."

In Ottawa, however, neither the Conservative government nor the opposition has gone beyond general party-policy statements expressing support for Senate reform. And critics say that, so long as the Senate remains as it is, Ontario and Quebec will continue to dominate smaller provinces. University of Lethbridge political scientists David Elton and Peter McCormack, in a report written earlier this year for the Calgary-based Canada West Foundation, a conservative research organization, asserted, "Of all the world's federal countries, Canada has the most serious prospect of a national government perpetually dominated by the populations of a small number of provinces."

**Potential:** While the debate over Senate reform may be just beginning, it has demonstrated the potential for increasing deeply felt emotions among both the Red Chamber's critics and its defenders. Charges, argued Brown last week, are nothing less than "to end the tyranny of Quebec and Ontario in this country." That view may be echoed in much of Canada outside these two provinces.

CHARLY JENKINSON and JOHN MORSE in Calgary; MARCELLE DROGMANIAN in Whistler; PAUL KARALA in Toronto; MARE CLARK in Ottawa and GLEN ALLEN in Victoria

## VICTORY FOR A REFORMER

At 59, and with two successful careers—in the military and the construction business—healed fine, Stanley Wiles would claim the right to a quiet retirement. Instead, the grey-haired owner of last week's Senate nomination election in Alberta is looking forward to devoting his remaining energies in the fight for Senate reform. MacLean's Alberta Borrows Cycle Wells' lesson and uses it to renew Party in the Senate mandate in Calgary.

MacLean's: What message does your election and to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney?

Wiles: Very simple: that I am the selection of Albertans for the Senate, and when you try to appoint me! I do not want you hanging around in here as an asterisk-waiting.

MacLean's: Was the demand for Senate reform the only message for Ottawa on this election?

Wiles: Also that Mount Lake must die, 'no' to the general sales tax, no government spending, and review the Official Languages Act. MacLean's: *Is it true you're French?*

Wiles: I took Canadian courses years ago, but my French is lese. And I'm too old to try improving it. I'm not going to need to speak French in the Senate.

MacLean's: What are the reasons for government spending that you particularly oppose?

Wiles: The illusions they spread: spending up tax subsidies just to keep a few big gang Government should stay out of the bottom cycle. Businesses prosper and do. It is natural. I am at heart a puritan. Any Canadian is a good example. And Petro-Canada should be next. It has no role to be competing with small stores selling gas and candy. I am also very much against funding of special-interest groups, whether it be for black lesions or fluorosis.

MacLean's: If the Prime Minister doesn't put you in the upper house, how will

you reward your fellow senators?

Wiles: I will have nothing to do with any senator of those, even the appointed Albertans. I see the Senate now as a comfortable little club. My mandate is to refresh the place. An elected senator has no mandate.

MacLean's: *Was Aug. 21 just now?*

Wiles: Everyone retires there at 75, so it will be at most ten years.

MacLean's: Has your election as a Reform candidate been Premier Donald Getty?

Wiles: He phoned me in election night with his congratulations. That was a classy act. But some of the vote came from Alberta sending him a message. He has problems with re-investigating, that 20-plus-one pay like for what last month was granted with courage.

MacLean's: From your experience in this campaign, have you formed an impression of what it takes to be a politician?

Wiles: You need the stimulus of a water buffalo, the love of a chess and the energy of a gaga dancer. □

## The Human Energy Behind Nuclear Energy

Dr Eva Rosinger is the Director, Waste Management, Contract Review, with Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL).

She has been involved with the radioactive waste program since 1976.

Dr Rosinger is seen here at the used fuel storage bay at Gentilly 2 Generating Station in Quebec.



## NUCLEAR ENERGY IN CANADA

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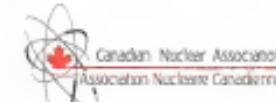
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# A CLASSIC GOES CUBIST.



SPECIAL REPORT

# ONE SENATOR'S CRUSADE

*I COULD BE WINSTON CHURCHILL IN A SKIRT\**

**S**oleil Chaput-Rolland says that she was not looking for a third career when she was appointed to the Senate in 1984. At 65, the award-winning former broadcaster and politician was completing a book about her husband André's losing battle with cancer—a book that would shortly claim the best-seller list in Quebec. She was preparing a screenplay, working on other book projects and, as the best-known elder stateswoman of her province, was in constant demand for speaking engagements. But she was never alone. The only francophone woman in the Senate—economically, financially—not only by the quality of many of her colleagues, but by the public's lack of interest in the Senate, President Chaput-Rolland, "I could be Winston Churchill in a skirt and pronounce the most adulatory speeches, and eat a dinner and a latte, because senators are supposed to be dumb, dull or sitting around playing bridge."

As a result, Chaput-Rolland is planning another book, for another year, improving the Red Chamber. She says that senators themselves have caused their image problems. She added: "There is an infinite number of things that senators themselves could change." Among them, says Chaput-Rolland, the lack of scrutiny of senators' attendance and the number of perks the senators enjoy.

Most of those who regularly monitor the Senate's proceedings say Chaput-Rolland personifies the political or Parliament's frequently maligned upper chamber. It is not unusual, moreover, for the members who don't show up so often to be those who do. Chaput-Rolland has made herself conspicuous by her presence, missing only two sitting days during her term. She is also a member of two committees—transport and communications—as well as legal and constitutional affairs. For its part, Senate Leader Noëlle Noguès, chairman of the legal and constitutional affairs committee, and Chaput-Rolland with brightness and energy to the frequently stodgy proceedings of the Senate. "She's going to take some of us guys and really kick our butts straight."

Still, even Chaput-Rolland says that her early impressions in her new role were dismaying. She added: "When I arrived, nobody told me where to go, or what to do, or where



Chaput-Rolland: condoning apathy about the Senate

she had to go. The men here get by fine. But for a 70-year-old widow, it can be very lonely." And after a year on the job, her assessment of her colleagues is mixed. Said Chaput-Rolland: "There are some people who take advantage of the Senate. On the other hand, there are a lot of good, hard-working individuals who do conscientious work and make a solid contribution."

With

Chaput-Rolland says that the Senate can reform itself. As a start, she says that senators should have a role in selecting new senators. Until recently, that choice was left up to the Prime Minister alone. That changed with the Meech Lake accord, underwritten, a senator is chosen by the Prime Minister from a list provided by the province of

the province in which the Senate satiates—*the process that brought Chaput-Rolland herself to the Senate. But last week, she said that a parliamentary committee should have the power to vote new senators—and to expel sitting senators if their performance is unsatisfactory.*

Attendance is clearly a sensitive issue with a senator who has no constituency in the Senate. Says she, "We are judged by the absence sessions, not by the hours we are there day after day." The former broadcaster added that senators could also gain public respect by giving up some of their privileges, ranging from subsidized meals to free or travel. Declined Chaput-Rolland: "Privileges are all right when they go with duty. We have to earn privileges and too few obligation."

Then, Chaput-Rolland has been criticized for her own public performances in the past. In 1987, former press-secretary Pierre Trudeau raised the tough issue of protocol to the Pierre-Elliott Trudeau Task Force on Canadian Unity. There, her emotional appeals for understanding between the country's two language communities led some Quebec critics to nickname her "Notre Dame de la laisser-aller" (Our Lady of Toss). And Jean-Luc Poirier, the former Liberal cabinet minister who chaired the commission, recalled: "She was difficult, obstinate, impulsive and disagreeable throughout the whole two years. But she questioned everything, and that won her job."

Her high-profile public helped her to win a seat as a provincial Liberal MP in 1970. After she lost the seat in 1983, Chaput-Rolland returned to broadcasting, writing a highly successful weekly television drama about a fictional minister and his family. Her writer on that series, Michelle Bache, the wife of Tony Blair, then Justin, who has worked with Chaput-Rolland on various projects, noted: "I find it incredibly uplifting to work with her. She knows what she wants and she never stops until gets it." Asked one former political mind, "If Soleil did not exist, you would have to invent her. That being said, she is unbearable." With such attributes, the exterior of the Senate's best qualities is confronting its worst weaknesses.

LISA VAN DERKIN in Ottawa



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INTERCONTINENTAL HOTELS

THE HILTON · THE HOTEL

# An ambiguous victory

A trade panel on fish sends mixed messages

**I**t was an artfully balanced ruling on a complex and touchy subject. So it was not especially surprising when last week a decision by the first international panel set up under the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA) presented widely differing interpretations of whether Canada won or lost in the outcome. The losing party, however, was a Canadian policy that the other had agreed to. And April has announced that all salmon and herring caught off British Columbia be landed in Canada. Ottawa had argued that it needed the right in order to regulate fish stocks. But American fish packers complained that the measure was in fact a ban on growing Canadian fish from being processed in U.S. plants—an interpretation of the FTA. Last week, the five-member trade panel ruled that Canada had indeed breached the FTA. It also decided that as much as one-third of the salmon and herring caught off British Columbia should be made directly available to foreign buyers.

Opponents of the Free Trade Agreement immediately interpreted that decision as an infringement of Canadian sovereignty that would lead



BRIAN EISINGMAN with MARC CLARK in Vancouver and MARC CLARK in Ottawa

to layoffs in Canadian fish plants. As many as 8,000 people work in 212 B.C. fish processing plants, which in some cases provide the sole source of employment in remote communities near Lester B. Blandford declared to the House of Commons that Fisheries Minister Thomas Sopuck had "given away our whole capacity for laying a national and regional industrial strategy." That view was echoed by Bruce Léger, 48, who has shepherded salmon of Vancouver for 14 years. So Léger, who is also an organizer for the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union, told *The Star* he was "disappointed, because the U.S. is applying all the restrictions. It confirms what we've learned [about free trade]."

Brian Léger, who represents salmon fishermen riding in Parliament, claimed that the decision was a victory for Canada. He maintained that the panel had agreed with Canada's position that it has the authority to make rules designed to conserve its fish stocks and allowed Ottawa to continue directing 80 per cent of the catch to Canadian processors. Still, Sopuck and the cabinet will take the full 30 days that it is allowed under the FTA before determining whether it will abide by the panel's decision. If Canada ignores the ruling, the FTA allows the United States to impose penalties to offset whatever agency Canada's decision causes to American fish prices.

BRIAN EISINGMAN with MARC CLARK in Vancouver and MARC CLARK in Ottawa

# The continental divide

An American sees Canada's uniqueness fade

**O**ne of North America's most prominent academics says that Canada is showing markedly more like the United States. Seymour Martin Lipset, 87, a professor of sociology and political science at California's Stanford University, held his first teaching job at the University of Toronto in the late 1940s and has devoted much of his career to the study of Canada. His new book, *Commentary*, studies the difference making between between Canadians and Americans values. Michael's American Editor Paul Achbar interviewed Lipset last week.

**M**ichael's. What has traditionally given greatest Canada from the United States?

Lipset: The founding principles of the two nations are quite different. It goes back to the American Revolution. What evolved out of it was a strong antifederal and popular ideology—the United States was the country of the revolution, the country of equality. English Canada was formed by people who rejected the American Revolution. Canada's strategy was one of hierarchy, of a strong central state, and the nobility. And just as English Canada

rejected the American Revolution, French Canada rejected the French Revolution. So Canada rejected two revolutions. In that sense, the country is a very American document. It puts a limit on parliamentary supremacy, but it also puts a limit on the power of the politicians. And it encourages people to go to the polls and fight for their rights.

**M**ichael's. Has Canada changed since the charter was introduced?

Lipset: There is a greater emphasis on individual rights rather than group entitlements. The charter has provided a mechanism to expand civil rights. Canada has become a more democratic, liberal, libertarian society.

**M**ichael's. Is there any area in which the two countries are moving in different directions?

Lipset: After Confederation, the emphasis in Canada was on a strong central state, while at the United States there was an emphasis on states' rights. But in modern times, Canada has become much more decentralized, while there has been an increase in federal power in the United States. If it is satisfied, the Meech Lake accord would be the ultimate disintegration of Canadian federal powers. □

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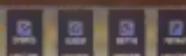
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# FAMILY QUARREL



Mulroney with other Commonwealth leaders, aides and advisers in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: divisions avoid cordiality

**F**or the 46 Commonwealth leaders who attended last week's summit in Kuala Lumpur, there was one welcome respite from the oppressive heat and exhaust-clotted streets of the Malaysian capital. Leaving behind the rote time, the leaders and their spouses spent two solid, pale-fingered lunch sessions on a island 360 km northwest of the city. Cooled by a sea breeze, they enjoyed a bullet dinner of lobster bisque, cold salmon and duck à l'orange before settling down for 2½ hours of informal, unstructured discussions. But the conference-sphere needed deeper division. The Commonwealth's deliberations were marred by a dispute between Britain and its former colonies over the use of economic sanctions to exert pressure against the white-minority government of South Africa.

## THE LATEST COMMONWEALTH SUMMIT FAILED TO MEND OLD DIVISIONS OVER SOUTH AFRICA

Commonwealth was searching for something it could do. When apartheid came along, it took the issue and ran with it. At the same time, the organization is enjoying renewed popularity among several developing countries that had previously questioned its relevance.

The host of last week's meeting, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, told the delegates that he had been considering leaving the association, but had decided that it remained "an important forum for the discussion and even the settlement of some international

problems." For her part, Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto expressed pleasure that her country was rejoining the Commonwealth 17 years after it resigned in protest, when several Commonwealth countries recognized Bangladesh, formerly part of Pakistan.

Privately, Canadian officials predicted that the final communiqué, to be issued at the conclusion of the seven-day meeting this week, would likely call for the maintenance of existing sanctions against South Africa. These include ban on all loans, new investment in South Africa, and export of South African iron, steel, coal, uranium and agricultural products. But the officials added that the association would likely reject a proposal by the African National Congress (ANC)—which had a representative at the summit—to call for a global oil embargo and far tighter restrictions on arms sales to Pretoria.

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, who heads the Commonwealth committee on South Africa, said that the organization's objective is to give South African President Frederik de Klerk, whose National Party was elected last month on a platform of moderate reform, a chance to deliver on his promises. Those in-

clude undertakings to dismantle apartheid and to agree on a mechanism that would extend political rights to blacks. But Clark added: "If there is a failure, the South African government must expect that Canada and other nations will pursue sanctions with even more vigor."

By withholding one sanction, the delegates clearly were trying to avoid widening the divisions with Britain. At the same time, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher made it clear that she is dissatisfied with the sanctions that are already in place. During a speech by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney discussing the slow pace of reform in South Africa, Thatcher sat impishly with her hands clasped at her lap, while the rest of the leaders applauded vigorously. Later, she criticized the other leaders for saying that South Africa should impose tough or restrictive controls on lending to South Africa. According to a British official, Thatcher described the plan as "utterly incomprehensible," noting that it would penalize South Africa at a time when its leaders were demonstrating a sincere desire for reform. Said Thatcher: "We are more likely to achieve our aim by giving encouragement rather than by clamping things up." In an apparent effort to undercut the sanctions lobby, South Africa announced last week that its creditors had agreed to a 30-year rescheduled aid plan for \$9.4 billion in debt that would have fallen due next June. The ANC condemned the decision by the private banks as a "act of sheer racism" and urged its members to step up pressure on Pretoria.

The division between Britain and its former colonies extended to other issues as well. Led by Malaysia, most of the underdeveloped countries tried to persuade the Commonwealth to set up an international fund—financed at large part by Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand—to pay for environmental cleanup at poor countries. Said Malaysia: "The poor won't be made to pay for the past and present sins of the rich." But rejected that proposal, claiming it has no mandate for its own problems. To secure Thatcher's signature, the leaders had to settle for a水ed declaration that expressed good intentions on the environment without promising to spend any new money. Said one Canadian official of the British prime minister: "She knows that not a soul in the room agrees with

her, but I don't dare tell her in the lead."

The Commonwealth leaders did manage to renew their differences on another issue: the selection of a new secretary general to replace Sir Shandor Rumpf. At 61, a passionate exponent of Third World causes who has led the organization for the past 14 years, Rumpf is offering next year. Canada's choice for the post had been Justice Minister Alan Fraser, who was officially invited to speak. But Fraser, the Canadian Foreign Minister, had withdrawn his name. Fraser's rival was Nigeria's Chief Ezeiza Anyaoku, the Commonwealth's current deputy secretary general. To paper over divisions, they held a secret ballot and declared Anyaoku had been elected unanimously.

Or that, anyway: among the leaders was more apparent than real. Still, the air of crass and possessiveness that hung over the Commonwealth three years ago, when more than half of the member nations protested Thatcher's insistence on staying with the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh, seemed largely to have dissipated. Instead, the leader—with the exception of Thatcher—claimed credit for helping to press South Africa into adopting a few modest reforms. Zimbabwean Presi-

dent Robert Mugabe, who had been accused of being responsible for the massacre of 21, but many others trapped in the rubble. Others who had been accused died later, an action official noted.

## World Notes

### BURNIN' IN THE MOUNTAINS

A Boeing 747 cargo plane crashed and burned on a mountain ridge in Laos. At least 131 of the 136 people aboard survive. Australian prime minister John Howard, who was on board, and his wife, Julia, survived. The plane crashed as it approached Thaungpan, a abandoned village in the rugged mountains of northern Laos. The aircraft was carrying 100 tons of cargo, including 100,000 sticks of dynamite, 100,000 sticks of gunpowder, and 100,000 sticks of incendiary ammunition. The cargo was bound for Thailand. The plane was en route from Bangkok to Chiang Mai when it crashed. The cause of the crash is not yet known.

### IN PRAISE OF DORRACHEV

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker praised Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of economic restructuring, and said that the United States is prepared to provide advice and technical assistance to help reduce the severe economic difficulties. It was a sharp departure from statements by other administration officials, who have recently expressed concern that the reforms may fail.

### A STUNNING LEGAL REVERSAL

Ireland's Chief Justice Lord Lane ruled that the Guildford Four, those Irishmen and an Englishman, were wrongfully convicted in 1972 of Irish Republican Army bombings of pubs—that killed nine people—after a lawyer for the Office of Public Prosecution said that police gave false evidence in their original trial.

### INDIAN ELECTIONS CALLED

India's president, Vishwanath Pratap Singh, has called parliamentary elections for Nov. 22 and Dec. 10. Indian voters, after three years of opposition parties who have accused Gandhi's ruling Congress party of corruption, have voted to field common candidates at most constituencies.

### ONE-PARTY RULE ENDS

In Hungary, parliament voted overwhelmingly for constitutional changes that effectively ended one-party rule in the country. Among the changes were amendments eliminating all references to the leading role of the Communist party, which has been dissolved and renamed the Hungarian Socialist party.

### A FRIENDLY VISIT

Former president Ronald Reagan and his wife, Nancy, began a working visit to Japan on grants of both the Japanese government and the Japanese Conservative Group Foundation, which operates a newspaper, and television and radio stations, will pay the Reagan \$3 million for exclusive interviews, according to Japanese reports.



Thatcher and Gandhi at the summit: 'an important lesson'

dent Kenneth Kaunda, Malawi's last president, Nancy began a working visit to Japan on grants of both the Japanese government and the Japanese Conservative Group Foundation, which operates a newspaper, and television and radio stations, will pay the Reagans \$3 million for exclusive interviews, according to Japanese reports.

# The Thatcher factor

*Canada sides with a Commonwealth majority*



Maloney, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda: a 48-to-1 split? (axis: Canada; just now?)

**T**he Commonwealth, less Pretoria clearly took members of the Canadian delegation by surprise. At the Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur last week, officials voiced optimism that major international bodies would soon impose tougher lending restrictions on South Africa in order to force that country's white minority regime to abandon apartheid. But only hours before the Commonwealth leaders took up the issue, South Africa disclosed that its creditors had already rescheduled \$9.4 billion of its \$23.4 billion foreign debt—on terms that were no more generous than other past Thatcherite wage-packets—embarrassing for Canada, which has spearheaded a campaign to use South Africa's debt as a lever to bring about political reforms.

Outside the meeting, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney played down the significance of the report. "South Africa has not put a bomb here, but there is still a forest fire in front of it." But privately, one of the most senior officials acknowledged that the timing of the announcement had been a setback. Declared the official: "The Commonwealth is trying to put pressure on South Africa, and

South Africa is letting us down, not us."

The overall outcome of the Kuala Lumpur summit, however, appeared likely to increase Canada's standing and influence in the Commonwealth. Both publicly and during the leaders' closed-door sessions, Mulroney took the lead in attacking South Africa and in regulating British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's claim that sanctions hurt only blacks. Sir Malenky at a reception for delegates: "Forty-eight members of the Commonwealth are going one way, and we are going another way—and that sums Canada just fine." His advocacy role was praised from African and Caribbean leaders.

Although Canadian officials denied that Canada was seeking to assert a leadership role in the organization, their conduct clearly reflected a desire to seize the diplomatic high ground. To rescue the Commonwealth's grip across the other 48 member nations, the Canadian delegation held frequent news conferences and off-the-record briefings, to stash reporters from other Commonwealth countries were usually invited. By contrast, the British contingent kept a much lower profile, and Thatcher herself made few public statements. Privately,

Canadian officials readily acknowledged the tense relations between the Canadian and British delegations. "We are not looking for a光 with the Brits," said one adviser, "but if they start one, they will have a fight on their hands."

South Africa's announcement on debt-rescheduling strained the atmosphere even more. According to British officials, Thatcher told a closed session in South Africa that banks had a right to protect their shareholders. But two Canadian officials, speaking on condition that they not be identified, said that there was widespread suspicion among Commonwealth members that the British government was partly responsible for the timing of the decision. They noted that the financial consortium that set the terms for the debt-rescheduling is led by three large British banks: National Westminster, Barclays' and Standard Chartered. Of the \$9.4 billion offered by the agreement, \$6 billion is owed to these institutions. By contrast, only \$145 million of the total is owed to Canadian banks. Said one official: "Nobody can prove it, but almost everybody root to see it as wrong because they are concerned the Thatcherites had a hand in this thing. In the short run, it is an important public-relations coup for her."

At the same time, Canadian officials claimed that they had played a key role in attempting to arrange a compromise, no further substantive moves are, in the Commonwealth. The dispute arose when Third World members, led by Malaysia and India, demanded that the industrialized countries pick up part of the cost of controlling pollution in poorer countries. When Thatcher agreed that approach, the Canadian and New Zealand delegations drafted a compromise position that endorsed the idea of such a fund in principle, without specifying how and when it would be established. Said Mulroney: "The agreement is really the beginning of bridging the problem. It is not the solution."

Canada was less sanguine from its Third World partners when it offered to provide funding for a proposed Commonwealth agency that would work to strengthen democracy in member countries, said Mulroney. "There are places where there are violations of human rights, and they should be monitored and corrected." But the summit's host, Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, rejected the initiative. Mahathir, whose government has been accused by Amnesty International of suppressing political opponents and torturing some prisoners, said that industrialized countries have "suspicious economic development in the developing world" by focusing on human rights abuses and starting with the domestic affairs of Third World states. Mulroney said and later that Canada was prepared to offer advice to other countries on human rights only if they specifically requested it. By any measure, it was a modest undertaking. But even that proposal, Canadian delegates said, was beaten to nothing in a vote.

ROSS LAFER in Kuala Lumpur

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## THE SOVIET UNION

# Fires of nationalism

Azerbaijanis press for greater autonomy

**W**ith his grey hair, shuffling gait and soft-spoken manner, Alievler Alev is the image of the scholar he has been for the past 30 years. For most of that time, the 53-year-old Alev has spent his days studying centuries-old documents as part of his work as a director of the Institute of Manuscripts.

around deep racism and controversy in the Kremlin. The largely Muslim republic, which borders on Iran, is rich in oil and is a potential rallying point for the Soviet Union's 45 million Muslims. In addition, for 30 months, Azerbaijan has been battling neighboring Armenia for control of the culturally autonomous region of Nagorno-Karabakh.

In an apparent attempt to appease nationalistic feeling, Azerbaijan's parliament passed legislation on Sept. 25, asserting the republic's control over its own resources, including its oil supplies, and its right to full sovereignty. But those concessions have only heightened the desire of many Azerbaijanis for



Funeral procession for a 16-year-old girl in Baku: day and night, residents face gunfire, explosions, arson and pogroms

steppes in Baku, the capital city of the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan. But 18 months ago, Alev decided to walk only part time at the institute, and he transformed himself into an unlikely but angry rebel with a score of issues. Now, from his tiny seventh-story walk-up apartment, he plots the activation of Azerbaijan's rapidly growing Popular Front movement, which he leads. The grassroots group, which of members now has more than 300,000 members, is experiencing dramatic increases in the popular's enthusiasm from Moscow. And Alev: "It's only a matter of time until Azerbaijan becomes an independent country."

Indeed, the strength of the Azerbaijani Popular Front, coupled with the growing nationalism of the republic's seven million people, has

Nagorno-Karabakh, a top, mountainous enclave with an Armenian majority that has been under Azerbaijan's jurisdiction since 1922. In the Soviet Union, where ethnic tensions have been breaking out everywhere, from the Balkans in the west to Transcaucasia in the south, President Mikhail Gorbachev has cited Nagorno-Karabakh as the country's worst example of ethnic strife.

Soviet officials say that unknown hundreds have died in the conflict, which is rooted in historical differences between what is rated as historical Armenia and the mainly Christian Armenians. In the past two months, Azerbaijani militia men have staged strikes that have shut down supplies of fuel and many basic foods to Armenia.

more control. Declared Bararov: "We are just fighting the fight."

These effects have already contributed to a war-crisis situation in Armenia, whose residents are still struggling to rebound from the earthquake. With winter approaching, the Azerbaijanis' blockade of fuel has almost halted recovery efforts in stricken areas. Although Soviet authorities have begun airlifting coal to the republic, Armenian spokesman say that citizens are suffering widespread shortages of such items as rice, flour and vegetables. Seal Asia Kassianov, an Armenian bureaucrat: "There is nothing to eat in Yerevan."

Soviet authorities have been selective to take sides in the dispute. Gorbachev has long-

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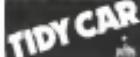


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## WORLD

nd the scope of his commands to demonstrate both sides' use of violent tactics. And the Karakalas tried repeatedly—but unsuccessfully—to negotiate behind-the-scenes agreements with both Azerbaijanis and Armenians in the past 18 months. Gorbatchev has held at least three private meetings with Armenian leaders to discuss ways of ending the fighting. At the same time, Azerbaijani political leaders claim that Karakalas officials have told them that Nagorno-Karabakh's autonomy status will soon be withdrawn, and it will become fully integrated into Azerbaijan. "Nagorno-Karabakh is a temporary bridge," declared Alexei "We will live in it soon."

But Nagorno-Karabakh remains a deeply passionate issue for both Azerbaijanis and Armenian nationalists. Azerbaijan has controlled the region since 1923, despite the fact that official census figures show that 72 per cent of the 750,000 people there are ethnic Armenians. Sad Karim Sazanov, a Armenian political activist, "These are our people, and we cannot abandon them." Mesrobian, recent demonstrators in Baku demanding the return of Nagorno-Karabakh have drawn as many as 300,000 supporters. Soviet officials estimate that more than 200,000 ethnic Armenians and Azerbaijanis have fled to their homelands since the conflict began.

After repeated skirmishes last year, Moscow created a special committee in January to oversee the cease-fire. But the international authority, which includes both Azerbaijanis and Armenians, has largely ignored the Kremlin's request for sending troops from the Soviet interior ministry to restore order. Earlier this month, an official of the Soviet committee, Valery Solntsev, said that the region was in danger of becoming a "grave-maze [Lebanon] rocked by paramilitary civil war." Solntsev added, "Not a day or night goes by without patrols, explosions, mine fields, mines and grenades." The Soviet weekly newspaper *Moskovsky Novosti* (Moscow News) reported recently that tens of ethnic Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh were attacking troops bringing them badly needed fuel and food supplies.

Meanwhile, many Azerbaijanis express concern over Moscow's decision to take direct control of the area. Declared one Islamic resident, a man in his 20s who requested anonymity, "Imagine the United States deciding on its own to take away a piece of Canada, and you have some idea how we feel." That decision has awakened strong, yet previously latent, anti-Russian sentiments among Azerbaijanis. Said Alexei, "We are tired of the Russian language and people having the most important places in our republic."

The uneasy blending of the two cultures is readily apparent in Baku, a Caspian Sea city with a population of 1.6 million. Some of its

buildings show the influences of classic Middle East architecture, many of them dating back to the 12th century. But Baku also shows many daily, banal, Soviet-style structures. And the city's most dominant features are two huge statues of the co-founder of the Soviet state, Vladimir Lenin, and a futuristic radio and television transmission tower.

Rus Arshakyan says that the most irritating feature of Russian influence is the way in which the government functions. Although Armenia is the official state language, most important government meetings are conducted in Russian. In 1988, the Soviet government suppressed the old Armenian Arabic alphabet and imposed the Russian Cyrillic alphabet. As a result, most Armenians cannot read some of their most important cultural artifacts, including an ancient and treasured copy of the most holy possession of the Korma Monastery.

As well, although ethnic Russians comprise only eight per cent of the republic's population, they make up 18 per cent of the population of Baku, the republic's most affluent area, and hold 41 per cent of white-collar jobs in the city. The result, said Mohammad Naficy, one local resident and doctor, "The result of Moscow's policy is that half of Armenia and Azerbaijan is part of the problem—not a solution."

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH © 1989

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## WORLD

### THE SOVIET UNION

# A pain-filled mystery

Moscow is elusive about the Wallenberg case

When Andrei Grigoryev, Mihail Gorbatchev's press chief, announced on the Soviet Union, died in July, it seemed possible that one of the Cold War's most intriguing mysteries—the fate of Hans von Stroh Wallenberg—might at last be solved. As deputy foreign minister, Grigoryev had declined in 1957 that Wallenberg died of a heart attack 10 years earlier in a Moscow prison. Although successive Swedish governments believed Wallenberg's siblings and other supporters were skeptical, that remained the official Soviet position, even under Gorbatchev's policy of glasnost (Openness). Then, last August, Wallenberg's relatives received an official invitation to Moscow, raising hopes that his fate might be revealed. But after their talks with Foreign Ministry and state security officials last week, the Wallenberg mystery remained as impenetrable as ever.

Arriving in Moscow, Wallenberg's half-sister, Anna Larsson, 68, and half-brother, Guy von Dardel, 76, and they believed that he was still alive, agreed to work with a Soviet jail or labor camp. At week's end, they still maintained that conclusion, despite foreign sources by telephone. German Germany's ambassador to Moscow said in 1987 was "an inevitable fact."

In 1944, 31-year-old Wallenberg, a pontiff, volunteered to go to Budapest under diplomatic cover in an attempt to save Hungarian Jews from the Nazi gas chambers. By supplying false Swedish passports and setting up dozens of safe houses along the neutral Swedish leg, Wallenberg did indeed rescue an estimated 20,000 people. When the city fell to the Red Army in January, 1945, the Soviets—apparently believing that Wallenberg was a capitalist spy—seized his assets en route to Moscow, where he vanished into the prison system.

Although few observers share his family's belief that Wallenberg is in fact still alive, there is persuasive evidence that he survived long after his purported death in 1947. Apart from the testimony of fellow prisoners, the Soviets have official documents about the authenticity of the document that Grigoryev cited in 1957 as proof of Wallenberg's death. That document is a letter from the senior prison doctor at Moscow's Lefortovo prison to the then minister of state security, Nikita Khrushchev. It says that "the prisoner Wallenberg, who is well known to you, died suddenly in his cell, presumably as a result of a heart attack." The doctor himself died in 1983; Khrushchev was exonerated in 1954, and the Soviets insist that they have no other documents relating to Wallenberg.

see Rocchi's passport and photographs again." For his part, retired Swedish diplomat Per Arneberg, who served alongside Wallenberg at war-time Budapest—and to found "parallel" that the Soviets should suddenly have discovered the effects, "it gives us hope that they can find new things again," he said.

Last week, Soviet spokesman Gennady included Wallenberg's disappearance and death among the crimes of the Stalin era. It was a "staged mistake that has never been corrected," said Gennady, adding, "He was caught up in a迷雾 of espionage." And Soviet officials said that this week, the Swedes could search through the cells and interviews of Wallenberg prison, where other prisoners said that they had seen the diplomat alive. Still, it was not clear why the Soviets invited Wallenberg's siblings to Moscow when they had no new evidence to provide. But as a report by an Amnesty International delegation said last week, "the human rights picture in the U.S.S.R. is deeply confusing."



Wallenberg: disappeared

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## JORDAN

# In search of peace

Jordan's queen addresses regional conflicts

**In a historic address to the Canadian Parliament, Jordan's King Hussein, a moderate Arab leader who is widely considered to be a crucial participant in efforts to work a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, asserted that of jeopardizing the peace process by inverting an Egyptian proposal for negotiations between Jordan and Palestine. During his speech, King Hussein also asked for Canadian economic support. The American-born Queen Noor, 38, a convert to Islam who has been active in promoting equal opportunities for women in Jordan since she married King Hussein in 1978, accepted an honorary law degree from the University of Calgary. Last week, she talked with MacLean's Calgary Bureau Chief John McRae about subjects ranging from Jordan's peace-making mission, women's empowerment and the situation of Palestinians in occupied territories to her family-oriented philosophy.**

**MacLean's:** What is the agenda of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Jordan?

**Queen Noor:** Since Jordan dissociated from the administration of the West Bank in 1988, the PLO has been addressing its international legitimacy. It has legions today with Canada and the United States and has footholds for some time in Europe. These are ongoing. Its future is unknown.

**MacLean's:** Jordan has long sought an international peace conference on the Middle East. What are the prospects?

**Queen Noor:** Jordan's position is constant. But there he peace and justice in the region. It feels the best chance for solving the regional conflicts is under the auspices of the United Nations. King Hussein has tried to bring people together, with mixed results. He will never stop his efforts.

**MacLean's:** Is there any sense of a peaceful future in Jordan?

**Queen Noor:** Security is a state of mind. It depends on all nations in the region. Our own location is a framework from the last century. When I stand in front of my home, I can see parts of four countries. It is a peaceful place,

but it would be even more peaceful if our border problems with Israel were settled. Jordan is at the forefront of the world's three great religions—Islam, Christianity and Judaism. Jordan should become the essence of peace through those great religious influences.

**MacLean's:** Are you finding more awareness of Arab issues in North America?

**Queen Noor:** There is much greater understanding of Middle East history and contemporary politics. The outside has contributed to

the Israeli community speak out courageously despite very violent opposition. They propose a peace based on justice and the return of occupied territory.

**MacLean's:** And your native land, the United States?

**Queen Noor:** It is a new administration under President Bush. We are hopeful it remains committed to an active U.S. role in getting the conflicting parties together under a UN-sponsored international peace conference.

**MacLean's:** Jordan has not held national elections since Israel seized the West Bank in 1967. What are the issues in your New Year's resolution?

**Queen Noor:** They are largely economic, but these are not ideal terms to be holding elections after such a long time. There is also the question of extremist groups seeking to counter social issues, such as the role of women as well as political issues. And there is the fact that, for the first time, women are voting in general elections.

**MacLean's:** Do you and the Majesty's presence here indicate a growing relationship with Canada?

**Queen Noor:** Canada has played a special role in the Middle East. It alone has the distinction of having contributed to every United Nations peacekeeping mission.

We can forget the effects of former prime minister Jean Chrétien's bringing Lester Pearson to bring an armistice [to the partition of Palestine] in 1947 and again in 1956 over the Suez crisis, or not forgetting the heroic service of Gen. [Edmund] Burns, who commanded the UN Emergency Force in Gaza and Sinai during a difficult and critical period (1967-1996). This year, Jordan became one of the first Arab countries to participate in a UN peacekeeping effort, when our troops were invited to take part in the current mission in Somalia.

**MacLean's:** And the UN mission to Calgary is a honorary doctor of laws?

**Queen Noor:** Our region plays not only the three great monotheistic religions, but to the Code of Hammurabi, possibly accepted in the world's earliest legal code, and the Ten Commandments. Today we are engaged in that important transition from traditional tribal law to a formal civil code. There is appropriate syncretism in our two peoples and cultures being brought together at Calgary by a mutual interest in the concept of law.

**MacLean's:** What is it like to be a "royal" in the Middle East?

**Queen Noor:** There are many tales, but our lives not like life. We do not live like a king and queen in a royal bubble. We are more like a working couple of civil servants.



Queen Noor: Canada has played a special role in the Middle East.

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## EAST GERMANY

# Krenz takes charge

Honecker resigns amid popular discontent

**W**hen the Central Committee of East Germany's ruling Communist party chose a new leader last week, the proceedings had an unaccustomed touch of informality. Minutes after the 160-member committee named Egon Krenz to replace the dead and discredited Erich Honecker, the new leader strode out of the meeting room in East Berlin and faced waiting television cameras. Smiling broadly, he pledged "work, work, work and more work" to solve East Germany's mounting problems. Three hours later, Krenz acknowledged during a 35-minute televised speech that East Germany's leaders had not reacted quickly enough to the widespread popular discontent that has rocked the country. He declared: "It is clear that we have not adequately appraised the social developments at recent months and have not drawn the right conclusions quickly enough. We see the seriousness of the situation."

Krenz's style was more open than that of the

chosen successor. As a result, leaders of East Germany's rapidly growing opposition movement characterize the appointment as a disappointment. And in the West, analysts said that the selection was no more than a cosmetic change by a leadership still determined to cling to power. Declared Berndt Kubo, president of the Institute for East-West German Relations in Bonn: "They may have won a bit of breathing space, but I doubt that Krenz is able or willing to pursue real reform."

For the 77-year-old Honecker, it was a modest and bitter farewell to power. Best known for building the Berlin Wall in 1961, he became party leader 10 years later. During the 1970s, he was a role model of popularity as East Germany's economy prospered by Eastern Bloc standards. But in recent years, Honecker's government was one of Eastern Europe's most rigid Communists, ignoring the grievances building up among East Germans. His grip weakened last July when he fell ill—the latter had surgery for gallstones—and his government was embarrassed as tens of thousands of East Germans fled to the West. Honecker's resignation was completed on Oct. 7, when the 48th anniversary of the founding of East Germany



Krenz (left), Honecker: the hard-line approach

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## THE POSSIBILITIES ARE AMAZING.

## WORLD

concerned with the biggest street demonstration in the country's history—and with a new flood of refugees to West Germany.

Last week, when the party Central Committee announced that Honecker had resigned for health reasons, it appeared clear that he had been forced out. Two of his closest associates, Gavril Matat, the party's top economic official, and Joachim Herrmann, the party propaganda chief, also resigned.

Herrnker's successor has been a full-time Communist official for all of his adult life. Kreis, who is married to a Russian mother by whom he has two children, is the son of a tailor from Kalisberg, a Polish seaport town that is now part of Poland. He joined the Communist party in 1958 at 18 and he spent three years studying social sciences at Moscow during the mid-1960s. In 1980 he was named to the party Politburo and, like Honecker, became the party secretary responsible for security, putting him in charge of East Germany's feared secret police.

Until last week, he gave no public signs of departing from Honecker's orthodox views. In fact, during a speech to West German exiles he recently declared the islanders overjoyed that spring had come. China's Communist leaders against student protesters in Beijing.

Still, Kreis has reflected a personal style markedly different from that of other East German leaders. Klaus Bölling, who led West Germany's movement against East Berlin in 1981, met Kreis twice during that period and said that he was unusually outgoing. "He was even able to make some pretty funny remarks," Bölling told Maclean's. "It certainly set him apart from the other members of his party." But Bölling added that Kreis's laid-back manner made it difficult to sustain party rule. He declared, "He is a typical cancer party man. There is no sign that he has any special gift for developing new perspectives."

At 52, Kreis is the youngest member of East Germany's Politburo. But since Western journalists question his status, he is a statistic, and West German anti-fascist activists have for years argued that his conclusion is aggravated by his heavy drinking. He also bears a difficult task as purveyor for miners in East Germany, whose numbers have dropped from 400,000 to 180,000. The next night, about 180,000 people marched through the streets of the northern city of Leipzig in the biggest protest in the country in decades.

Last week several East German newspapers that had previously followed the party line issued calls for reform. Said Bölling, "There is a real consensus for change. Kreis cannot escape these demands and how he responds over the next three or four weeks will be crucial." But last week, it appeared that the growing calls for change would go far beyond anything that East Germany's new master would be prepared to offer.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London and  
JOHN HOLLAND in Paris

## TIME TO FINNISH



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# SHOCK AND AFTERSHOCK

**AFTER THE DEATH  
AND DESTRUCTION,  
THE QUAKE THEY  
CALL THE 'BIG ONE'  
IS STILL TO COME**

**W**hen it was finally over, when the ground stopped trembling and the light started dimmed shaking, the crowd stepped out of its stunned silence and roared together in the waning sunlight. The cheering filled the cavernous space of San Francisco's Candlestick Park. It was a cheer of genuine relief, a spontaneous celebration of survival. Strangers chattered happily together. Others were just quietly thankful. But the catastrophe that bypassed the participants and spectators at the 1989 World Series struck sharply elsewhere in northern California that week. Televisions flashed the terrorizing images across the Global Village—fire, mayhem, action, acing, cars crushed under a collapsed section of concrete highway. The World Series did not vanish. Baseball was once again just a local game played by men and such familiar sports phrases as "the agony of defeat" faded into oblivion. People—at least 57 killed by smoke and—say—gas.

It all happened in 15 seconds. Fifteen seconds of seismic upheaval, at 5:04 p.m. on Tuesday, and human lives were ended or permanently altered. Buildings crumpled as though made from children's blocks. Gas lines snapped and spewed out flame. Beware we're performed heroes. Seismologists ex-

plained tectonic plates. Caudilleros peered in from around the globe, and commentators recited equally powerful quakes in such places as Mexico and Soviet Armenia, where flimsy building construction produced far more catastrophic results. Viewed in those broader, global terms, California, while suffering the second-worst earthquake in American history, escaped relatively easily. But that could only be cold comfort to the families and friends of the dead.

**DISASTER:** For North Americans, the quake had a particularly dramatic, almost surreal quality. It happened in California, a place of drama and extremes, where prides of the young and the maturing, heading west, finally hit sand. And it happened in 80,000 excited fans were settling in around Candlestick's famous field of dreams, as millions of TV viewers were preparing to watch the climactic event of the sport that Canadian writer W. P. Kinsella calls "the great god Baseball." The World Series inevitably looked trivial in comparison, but at least it helped to compel the attention of the country.

**FEARLESS:** The games were supposed to be a neighborhood street-light, a showdown between blue-collar Oakland and white-collar San Francisco that had become known as the Bay Bridge Series. After the earthquake, a 15-minute section of that bridge, which connects the two cities, had caved in and the Golden Gate bridge, which was supposed to provide aerial shots of the game, jacked over to destruction instead. Only Hollywood could have scripted it better. In the rock climbing, with the score tied, some home-base Major would have met a fastball with a mighty swing and, as in the fictional baseball movie *The Natural*, light

would have flashed and the howlers would have perished.

But what happened in the Golden State last week for all its unlikely timing, was no mere. It was, rather, a near-realization of the worst fears of quake-conscious Californians. From the planned living towns of the coastal plain to



**Survivor: Marina Berti (right) watching victims**



**BOB LEVINE**

# THE DAY THE EARTH ROARED

**D**orothy Otto had just pulled her husband on the car telephone to say that she was on her way home. Otto, a 43-year-old sales representative from San Rafael, Calif., was heading north late Tuesday on the lower deck of Oakland's two-decked Nimitz Freeway when, shortly after 5 p.m., she suddenly saw the road start to shake. "The car bounced, and then the upper deck rattled down," she recalled. "There was a thunderous roar, a rattling and rattling of concrete and steel from the phone. It was a terrible noise—of all my nightmares, that sound is the worst of all." A massive earthquake, registering 6.9 on the Richter scale, had hit the area. It affected hilly randomly along a 150-km stretch of coastal northern California—including Oakland and its twin city across the bay, San Francisco—and left a trail of death and monumental destruction in its wake.

Most shocking of all was the collapse of the two-kilometre upper stretch of the Nimitz

**'IT WAS A TERRIBLE NOISE—OF ALL MY NIGHTMARES, THAT SOUND IS THE WORST OF ALL'**

Freeway. Otto described the experience as "like being inside an exploding building." As huge concrete slabs began to fall, she watched the cars ahead of her "go like dominoes," she said. She hit the brakes, but one slab smashed

down on her hood and another on the roof, pinning her inside. "I was in a little coffin," she told *Maclean's* three days later. "I thought I would suffocate. I had concrete dust in my nose, in my eyes and everywhere, and I heard crying and moaning for minutes. Big there were no other cars around me. I was alone, and I yelled 'Help and Please!'"

Otto pulled for a half-hour, but to no avail. She realized that her left foot was trapped under part of the frame of the car. A metal belt from the emergency knee brace had sliced into the sole of her foot, and her toes were mashed. Grabbing a piece of paper and a pencil with her free hand, she began to write to her husband, John—in case she did not get out alive, she at least wanted to know that she had survived for a little while. "I smell smoke and burning," she wrote. "I love you and I hope I survive the rescue effort. I wish us both luck." Finally, an Oakland woman nearby heard screaming and told a local garage worker, who dashed down from the top deck, found Otto, and the rescue effort began.

**TERRIBLE** Working in a three-foot space between the upper and lower parts of the roadway, four men used a carbide saw to cut the concrete and metal of the freeway, and then the ice. Meanwhile, a medic gave Otto oxygen to cope with the excruciating pain, and Otto started a sag and her mouth so that she would not drown in the cars of the rescuers. Eventually, after four hours of struggle, the workers pulled Otto out by her feet. "They had to treat me like a rag doll to get me out of there," she said. She was taken to a trauma centre in Oakland and later transferred to a San Rafael hospital, where she was listed as stable condition at week's end. Her left foot was crushed. Minuscule, however, even were badly



Collapsed portion of Nimitz Freeway; inset, an solid earth turned over something that felt more like a storm of sea

burned, and doctors said that she would require physical therapy to walk again. She also had facial damage from the soaring column whipping her face, as well as extensive nerve damage. Still, said Otto, "I am the luckiest person there ever was."

Many others were not so lucky. By the weekend, coroners listed 22 deaths from the Nimitz Freeway collapse alone, bringing the earthquake's known death toll at that time to 55, with others still missing. Overall damage estimates ranged as high as \$6 billion. Free-dest George Bush declared the stricken region a federal disaster area and flew in to see it for himself. Geologic scientists gauged the epicentre of the quake in Marin-Marks State Park—on the treacherous San Andreas Fault, a break in the earth's crust—22 km northeast of Santa Cruz and about 90 km southeast of San Francisco. The earthquake ruptured veins of rock in the major cities of San Francisco and Oakland and in such smaller centres as Santa

Cruz and Hollister (page 63).

Striking at 5:04 p.m., the quake hit just half an hour before the World Series game between the San Francisco Giants and their cross-city neighbours, the Oakland Athletics, was scheduled to begin at San Francisco's Candlestick Park (page 64). The stadium was shaken and cracked in places—players and fans escaped unscathed—but because of the tamag, the audience captured the tremulous vibration of millions of television viewers across North America. The great San Francisco Quake of 1906, also spawned at the San Andreas Fault, was more violent than last week's, killing 700 people by traditional estimates—many as 2,200 according to some recent studies—and leveling much of the city. But the quake of 1909 was terrible enough. It was a grim reminder that, despite the technological advances of recent years, the area's still an office skyscrapers and apartment highrises stand, though only the clothes on their backs.

Indeed, another tremor came 24 hours after the California disaster, when an earthquake measuring 6.1 on the Richter scale struck northeastern China, killing at least 29 and leaving 16,000 people homeless after their simple mud-brick houses collapsed.

How In the California quake, although the Nimitz Freeway collapse was by far the most catastrophic, there were countless other devastating. There was the heart-stopping scene on the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, where a 15-metre section of upper roadway collapsed into the lower deck, killing a driver, while leaving others hanging precariously on the brink. There was the fire that raged out of control through the night in San Francisco's upmarket Marina district after a gas main burst. An estimated 10,000 people were eventually evacuated from the Marina area, many leaving with hardly only the clothes on their backs. And there were moments of pure terror—eg-



Marine destruction: many left with literally only the clothes on their backs

rescued by ordinary people going about their everyday affairs when, for 15 traumatic seconds, solid earth turned into something that felt more like a storm at sea.

But no story seemed more macabre than what happened at the Nimitz Freeway long after the quake struck. On Friday night, rescue workers attached a cable to one of the support structures to test its stability. The cable shifted the structure, and when workers checked it shortly after 8 a.m. on Saturday, they noticed movement in the highway's superlope. They then pulled away a railing from the rubble and cleared up an area of the damaged structure with wooden beams. At about 11:15 a.m.—90 hours after the earthquake struck—rescuers pulled Buck Helm, 57, a 260-lb. longshoreman's clerk, from the remains of a silver Chevrolet. They lowered him to the ground by crane in a metal cage, and the man wore his arm in a rescuer's cast. Said one witness: Oakland Mayor Lavel Wilson: "It was just a wonderful sight to see." Doctors later said that Helm—with a skull fracture, a crushed leg, broken ribs and larynx fracture—was in serious condition. Said Dr. Randy Rousseau, who was attending Helm on Saturday night: "It is too early to say if he is going to make it or not, but certainly we are hopeful."

**MARINA:** In Oakland earlier, Dennis Harvey, a 49-year-old shipfitter, described how he had been rescued from a hospital bed when a bell-like roar hit the Nimitz Freeway when the ground moved. Harvey was driving home alone on the upper deck. At first, he said, she thought that he had blown a tire. Glancing up he saw massive mirror images of the freeway going up and down like waves as the tremor of the quake rattled. Harvey added: "My car looks like a sandcastle on top of a wave. Then the wave comes right with me." When the roadway collapsed, Harvey's car fell with it and she broke his back. She was carried to safety by people from the neighborhood through which the driveway runs. They had clambered up onto the riven—rocked over—area lines to help survivors.

At first, it was impossible to determine just how many people had been caught in the freeway's concrete tomblike. The work of cutting through and clearing up sections of the upper roadway was slow and difficult. Because no one or helicopter powerful enough to lift the 500-ton concrete slabs that fell onto the lower deck, workers had to break them up with saws, drills and jackhammers and then move the pieces. And as the crews worked, there was constant danger that an aftershock might bring the rest of the structure crashing down.

By Friday, however, workers had made enough progress in detouring traffic so that the freeway had not been as busy as at first assumed. Authorities, who had originally speculated that as many as 250 people might have been killed under the roadway, revised their estimates downward. And the World Series,



**Fire crew in Marina area (top);** dangling cars on freeway; and fallen slab on Bay Bridge (right). Some neighbors risked their lives to help survivors.



**Workers retrieving body:** paradoxically, some houses appeared unscathed, windows open, curtains flowing on the breeze

which until the earthquake had dominated the aftermath of both elegant San Francisco and its working-class city, Oakland, was almost certainly the reason that there were fewer cars on the midtown road than elsewhere. The third game of the all local series was due to begin at 5:05 p.m. Sixty thousand fans were already inside Candlestick Park, and tens of thousands more had gone home early to catch the start of the game on television. At a snarl, the traffic, which would normally have been bumper-to-bumper at rush hour, was relatively sparse and numerous lives were undisturbedly spared.

According to witnesses and rescuers, another factor that kept down the freeway death toll was that there were evidently a few vital seconds' delay between the beginning of the earthquake and the collapse of the upper roadway. An unknown number of people apparently saw the concrete sections collapsing one by one over the roadway ahead, and jumped out of their cars just in time. That theory seemed plausible because many of the estimated 80 crushed cars were empty when demolition crews recovered them.

One man who may have

jumped to safety from the

lower deck of the freeway—but who could say for sure, because of a complete memory blackout—was 21-year-old housewife, Ken Lovell. From her bed at Oakland's Merritt Medical Center, where he was recovering from severe concussion, facial lacerations and a broken right ankle, he told *Newsweek*: "The hospital administrators don't know who brought me in. Some people think I might have passed out, but I don't know." Despite his more serious injuries, Lovell and that, the most apartment, were the severest lesions to his chest and stomach caused by the west half of his car. "I must have

stopped suddenly to have gotten those lesions," he said. "I must have been going about 60 m.p.h." That, noted Lovell, could easily indicate that traffic was unusually light for the time of day.

**Rearrangement.** Perhaps the most chilling residue was that of six-year-old John Beckman, in the back of a compact car. Julie Lee, a seamstress, had right leg crushed and passed under the dead body of her mother. They, which in turn was pinned under a massive block of concrete, died later. Cathy, 8, had been pulled live with major head injuries. But it was Julie, Dr. James Della, 42, who arrived at the scene shortly after the freeway collapse, had to resort to desperate measures. He isolated the child wrapped her in blankets and then covered her with a tarpaulin. Then, he cut the body of Julie's mother in half with a chainsaw and, using a scissor, amputated the boy's crushed right leg below the knee. "It was horrific," Della said, and later, "It was your worst nightmare."

He was rushed to the Goldfarb Children's Hospital, where he was admitted to critical condition. A day later, he was upgraded to "serious" and by week's end he was listed as stable in hospital emergency chart. Patrick Conner had only pride for the child's mother: "If this thing has a hero," said Conner, "It's Jim Della."

Bush visited the freeway site as



**Above (left):** Quayle + lightning vice-presidential roar

Friday during a five-hour tour of the San Francisco zone. As he watched workers pull a flattened vehicle from the rubble, Bush said: "You deeply moved—and in more ways, yet very strained by the team effort here." Last month, Bush was widely criticized for visiting eight days to visit the city of Charleston and other coastal areas of South Carolina, which had been devastated by Hurricane Hugo. Last week, he dispatched Vice-President Dan Quayle to California on the day after the earthquake. Quayle, after taking a lightning tour of the fire-ravaged Marin district, left without saying—or even notifying—Mayor Art Agnos. See Agnos? "I question his reasons for coming here," Agnos a Democrat, later said. "Maybe it's a publicity stink." In any case, Bush himself flew in on Air Force One nearly feeling that he was in a nervous state. According to the nearby Marshall News-Herald, Bush remarked: "If you can come, they say you're getting at the way, if you don't, they say it's a neglect."

**Disaster.** By dedicating the entire region a federal disaster area earlier in the week, Bush made it eligible for about \$500 million in immediate relief. State officials had estimated overall damage at about \$6 billion, and Agnos had said on Thursday that "on paper, the cost is huge." But, said Murray Lissens, the head of Lloyd's of London, the world's biggest insurance organization: "There are some wild figures being quoted, low and high. I don't think them as my real conception of the total damage."

As well as being one of the worst carnage, the Northway was the subject of much consternation in the newspaper's aftermath. After a earthquake in the San Fernando Valley, near Los Angeles, the state of California established a program aimed at making highways and bridges more resistant to earthquakes. One phase of the work involved strengthening the connections between individual roadways and their interchange partners. The next phase was to strengthen the roadway by wrapping them around brackets. That phase was not carried out on the 25-year-old Northway, and last Friday California Gov. George Deukmejian said he did not know why.

The governor, who had been visiting West Germany and who hurried back to California after the earthquake, said that all the state's older highways would be inspected to make sure that they were safe. "In the nearly seven years that I have been governor," he added, "I have never once been told by our people that we had any kind of a problem with respect to our freeways." Rather, James Draga, spokesman for the California department of transportation, had said, "If we'd had any reservations about the safety of that road, we would not

## THREE SPECTACULAR TARGETS



**A** Fire, fed by a burst gas line, raged all night in the aquatic Marina district. Devastation was as extensive as officials anticipated

**B** A concrete slab tore the upper section of the Bay Bridge slammed onto the lower deck, killing a driver and leaving other cars hanging precariously

**C** The most gruesome incident occurred when the top deck of a freeway collapsed, causing cars and their occupants in it deadly concrete sandwich

have allowed traffic on it. I don't think anyone envisaged an earthquake of that magnitude."

After the earthquake, Sacramento State University's Melvin Belli said his staff engineers were investigating whether there are grounds for legal action against responsible authorities on behalf of Northway victims and their families.

**Stonewall.** Unlike the freeway and the Bay Bridge, San Francisco's modern skyscrapers started up again almost immediately. They emerged from clouds to smile by as much as three feet, but apparently not out of the effort, sustained damage. San Francisco Mayor George Moscone: "It could be almost true to say that the source of much engineering know-how lies in the ability of these people—and a block was destroyed in the first that followed. And when a team of 150 structural engineers examined the

area." Under new building codes in force in California, higher and steeper structures are isolated from the forces of earth tremors by either lead or lead bearings placed beneath the base structures. In earthquake-prone Japan, engineers are working on even more sophisticated options in which computers and vibration sensors will allow a building to control its own response to an earth tremor.

But the older, smaller and more picturesque buildings of San Francisco's fashionable Marina district, which was built on landfill, had no such defenses. Several houses and apartment buildings collapsed, trapping people inside and a block was destroyed in the first that followed. And when a team of 150 structural engineers examined the



**Boots a no-win situation**

PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD



Belli (left) camped outside office; talk of legal action on behalf of victims and families

district on Wednesday, they issued as many buildings damaged that authorities ordered the evacuation of the entire area without warning. Many residents sought refuge from firecrackers. Some local hotel accommodations and the Red Cross made available 400 beds in an emergency shelter set up in a local school.

Athletes divided the buildings of the Marca district into habitable, dangerous and uninhabitable categories. Still other buildings were marked for demolition. People who had been living in dwellings in the first category—the roughly 1,000 red zones, that allowed them to return. Those in the second category were issued yellow permits, allowing daytime entry without supervision. Holders of red permits, the uninhabitable category, were allowed back for 15 minutes under supervision. In all cases, permit-holders had to sign a waiver releasing the authority of any liability in case of personal injury.

**Rescuers.** On Thursday, a Marca's correspondent lead troops guarding street corners in the Marca district to stop evaders, searching back at without authorization and to keep away the curfew. Every roadway and residential revealed cracks and fissures. And one after another, pretty, stucco-fronted houses showed signs of the earthquake's ravages. Some houses tilted, others had collapsed in piles of brick, stones and plaster resembling. Many that had collapsed in the earthquake were quickly taken down by bulldozers, which moved from street to street to demolish buildings that had been declared unsafe. Yet, periodically, some houses appeared quite undamaged, their windows open and lace curtains billowing in the intense breeze above wind-swept balconies. One private consultant involved in damage assessment calculated that only about 10 per cent of the Marca's houses were assured against earthquake damage, because

other variables. "Everything I own is here," he said, "all my family documents and all my important papers. I afraid the city will just come in with a bulldozer and knock everything down."

Dale Breton, 36, who was usually allowed back into her third-floor apartment, was not permitted to remove her car from the ground-level garage, for fear of causing further damage. Wearing a hand-strengthener band, she said, "These natural disasters just flip me out. I mean, you have no control. This whole Marca area is built on sand. I'm saving up for the rock."

In contrast to the sparsely Marca district, the working-class and surrounding the coldest temperatures are in Oakdale, where most residents are black, escaped unscathed. The people of that despondent district, with its faded Victorian houses, crooked churches and back-street crack houses, turned out in force Tuesday evening to rescue survivors from the firecracker disaster. Local residents were seen racing death as they crawled into the rare gaps between the two concrete blocks, looking for survivors. And, as in other areas that were plunged into darkness by power failures, there was little hope of getting reported. In fact, there was no more crime than an average night, said Police Sgt. Robert Crawford, who described his most assignments as "cleaning crack houses."

**Resilience.** Within 24 hours of the earthquake, enterprising street vendors were hawking T-shirts bearing the legend "I survived the quake of '89." But when it came to improving, few San Francisco could equal the record of Nick Vakatos, 41-year-old proprietor of the Capri Pizza Restaurant. Vakatos was born on the Greek island of Zakynthos and lived through an earthquake that he says destroyed all but three of the island's buildings in 1956. Years later, while living in Athens, he experienced another quake. Thus came last Tuesday, "I guess it follows me wherever I go," said Vakatos. "I think about it all the time, especially when I cross over a bridge." Still, in last week's quake, his sales

many homeowners consider the high premiums as being astronomical.

Wilson Logan, the tenant of an apartment in a building marked for demolition, donned a hard hat to go in and get as many of his belongings as he could in the permitted 15 minutes. Crawling through brick and plaster, he ferreted around for his prized family silver and

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bar house escaped unharmed and has not been injured only a few wall cracks.

Several Caucasians living in or visiting the area at the time of the earthquake had vivid memories of the day the earth shook. Toronto writer Dale Award, in San Francisco with a touring production of the stage musical *Dorothy*, told how the walls of his hotel room moved "three feet forward and three feet back" when the quake struck. Santa Clara, a 25-year-old art history graduate from Calgary, who is studying for a doctorate at Stanford University and lives in a small Palo Alto, had seen a television program on an earthquake survival just three days previously. She was in the basement garage of her three-story apartment building when she heard "a sound like a concertina train" and the ground began shaking. "I ran for the exit, but I fell through the floor. Struggling to my feet, I ran outside in time to see a tree fall to the ground just a few feet in front of her. Then, she said, the building superintendent pulled his hand out of the front door and joked 'Welcome to California.'

In the small town of Santa Clara, 86 km south of San Francisco, two young children of ex-Torontonian Barbara Cross, 36, were attending a swimming class when the earthquake hit. "It tried to eat us in the pool," said Cross. "But we landed twice. It was like shooting in a rubber raft going down a river of white water. It was rattling to see the earth move in six-foot waves." When she got to the pool she said she saw "a never-end wave crashing up in the middle of it." Her daughter



**Red Cross food stations authorities ordered a mass evacuation without warning**

Laura, 8, had been dragged to the bottom of the pool, but had surfaced laughing. Laura and the other children were all unharmed. Cross said that her daughter "thought it was a lark" until she realized what danger she had been in.

On the day after the earthquake, before the first light of dawn reached San Francisco, the scene was eerily dark. The loosed string of lights that normally links the two cities along the 128 San Joaquin Bridge was blacked out. So were the silhouettes of the Oakland and San Francisco

lighttrails. Even the fire at the Marina district had died down. A beam from the lighthouse no the abandoned prison island of Alcatraz swept the bay. It was the only light to pierce the gloom of the sibling cities whose cheerful World Series rivalry of just a few hours before had turned so much terrible tragedy.

**JOHN PERLMAN and BOB LEVIN with  
AMC OLYNN JILLARY MACDONALD and  
DAVID THOMAS in San Francisco**

## SMALL TOWNS, HEAVY HEARTS

Although most media attention focused on the destruction in San Francisco and Oakland, the small towns of northern California also suffered severe damage. Maclean's Los Angeles Correspondent Anne Greger witnessed their life during recovery efforts on the day after the earthquake. Her report:

As I headed north, I passed through plowed agricultural plains where machines picked cotton and through rolling, brown hills where cattle grazed and sheep grazed peacefully. There was no hint of trouble until about 140 km south of San Francisco, near a hillside town that now is a bedroom community for the nearby high-tech industrial area known as Silicon Valley, yellow-and-black police "caution" tape blocked off the commercial centre. Demolition crews were flinging the job the earthquake started as they tore down towering Victorian buildings lining San Bruno Street. These included the 134-year-old Odd Fellows building, whose facade had fallen as the street, cracking loose.

Paul Fries, a senior emergency plan-

ner for the state of California, explained that few of Hillman's 1890-vintage buildings had been brought up to earthquake standards and the old frame structures were not holding to those standards. There were no deaths, but Fries estimated property damage in the county at about \$45 million.

The main town of Watsonville, population 30,000, 40 km to the west, once a sleepy town with a cattle market, shattered shop windows were boarded up, and the brick-bust, Crowley-St. Patrick's Catholic Church was one of many buildings officially marked for demolition. One woman had died, and her child suffered serious injuries, when the brick facade of the Baskin-Robbins fell on them. More than 1,000 families were sleeping in parks and public shelters, many of them having fled from houses that had slid from their foundations. Most had experienced other earthquakes, but, said Debbie Ward, who had pitched a tent in the park with her three young children, "they didn't growl like this one." Belying this overstatement, even Watsonville is a classic race-of-the-commerce small-town location. Now they may have to take their cameras somewhere else.

The roller coaster in the amusement park behind the boardwalk at Santa Cruz reported 45,000, 120 km south of San Francisco and the major towers nearest to the quake's epicentre, appeared to be unharmed. But the year's no-block shopping strip, containing a

million of radios, and Watsonville itself,

was devastated. Three people lost their lives with 100 in the hospital. Many more than 1,000 citizens were packed there, many themselves refugees of a collapse, looking for a young woman employee, a married Ruth Otto. They had already pulled out the body of a man and a dog, suspecting that Otto was dead, but when they called off the search, that decision set off a screech.

A group of three of the missing women who had been watching the operation had run through the police lines, shouting, "Don't stop the diggery." Within a minute, the street was full of steel-tipped police, in full riot gear, who forced the crowd back and arrested five people. Police Sgt. Andrew Chan tried to reason with the crowd. His own house, in Watsonville, had been destroyed and he had frantically evacuated. "We had three hours' sleep," he said. "We've pulled a hell of a run of breakdowns that shop and it looks as if we've done nothing."

That night, the earth trembled another

half-dozen times as aftershocks raged through the quake zone, collecting cinders, bringing down a church steeple and shelling more frame houses from their foundations. The next day, rescue workers pulled the body of Ruth Otto from the rubble of the coffee shop. Officials said that she appeared to have died suddenly as

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# THE EARTHQUAKE GAME

A TERRIFYING SIDESHOW AT THE WORLD SERIES

**F**or the National League champion San Francisco Giants, like Oct. 17 World Series game in their home park was a chance to release themselves. After the Giants lost the first two games at Old Trafford—San Francisco scored only a single run in two outings—the series crossed San Francisco Bay to resume the battle in Candlestick Park, one of the oldest and most venerable stadiums in the country. "It's exciting," said Giants manager Roger Craig, "that our people can play in the wild." But at 5:04, a deafening rumble reverberated across the earth and the steel park shook for a terrifying 15 seconds. Said Eric Green, a 300-plus reporter: "I try to be a big, tough guy but I lost control of myself when the quake struck. I threw up my arms under a table and started to pray." Hall of Fame Giants outfielder Willie Mays, who would have thrown out the first ball had, said, "This is the only time that I was ever scared in this ball park."

**Risk:** While last week's earthquake caused havoc in the San Francisco area, killing at least 57 people and injuring hundreds of others in Candlestick Park only a few people suffered bumps and bruises from falling debris. And many of the spectators did not appear to realize the full magnitude of the tragedy. Said Jennifer Harris, 28, who arrived at the stadium moments after the earthquake: "These were plenty of evil fans who had been through earthquakes before. And a chick started to go up, 'Hey fellas! Play ball!'" But the earthquake knocked out electricity and cracked part of the upper deck in right field, and officials decided to evacuate the park to examine it for structural damage.

Police used bollards to miltion the crowd that the game had been postponed. And while fans filed calmly out of the park, some of these varying souther chunks of fallen concrete, several players ran to the stands to bring their wives and children onto the field. Others hurried to the dressing rooms. Said Giants catcher Terry Kennedy: "I started thinking about what

was happening here and I said, 'To heck with the game.' I sure as hell wasn't going to stay around for another [earthquake]."

**Reactions:** The Wednesday and Thursday games were still canceled, while a team of architects and structural engineers assessed damage to 29-year-old Candlestick Park manager John Lofquist said that a section in the upper



Oakland pitcher Steve Dalkowski takes off his helmet, gloves and briefcase

deck had to be reconstructed, but that the stadium did not appear to have been rendered. Baseball commentator Fenton (Fifi) Vincent expressed concern that the park would be ready to resume the series this week, although not before Tuesday. Said Vincent: "It is becoming very clear to all of us in major-league baseball that our issue is really a modest one in light of the great tragedy." Speaking as a visitor to the well-appointed Marin St. Francis hotel, illuminated by candlelight as a result of the city's electricity having been knocked out, he added, "We don't want to have to cancel baseball while the heat for meausons goes on."

Still, fans and players alike are certain to be haunted by the memory of the canceled game. Tom Cheek, play-by-play announcer for the Toronto Blue Jays, was in the Telemedia Sports Network booth when the earthquake struck. A minute before he was about to go on the air, he recalled, a jet flew over the stadium, and then it seemed like an plane running through the bottom of the stadium and I heard another engine. "Boy, that guy is never going to land," added Cheek.

"Then, I saw these sprouts that support the first deck sway one way and then the other. I thought that this place was going to collapse, and 40,000 people were going to be in a pile of rubble." Blue Jays executive vice-president Patrick Gillick was also in the stadium when the earthquake struck. "We were in right field under the second-deck overhang," Gillick said after returning to Toronto the following day. "The upper deck is concrete and it was shaking noticeably. We stopped in our tracks. If that deck had fallen, we would have been killed."

**Repercussions:** After the tragedy, there was debate about whether the games should be canceled at all. But sports reporters pointed to historical precedents for resuming the contest. The Munich Olympics concluded after PLO terrorists murdered 11 Israeli team members, and even during the Second World War, when many commentators said that baseball should be suspended, President Franklin Roosevelt successfully urged that the games continue for the sake of national morale. Last week, Oakland A's vice-president Richard (Sandy) Adelson said, "Once the community returns to a sense of normalcy, they will expect the World Series. I think it can be part of the healing." At the very least, we may finally have the bay will finally have something to cheer about.

MARY NEMETH with JAY CORLETT in  
Toronto, RONALD LEE in San Francisco and  
correspondent report

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# THE ORIGINS OF KILLER QUAKE

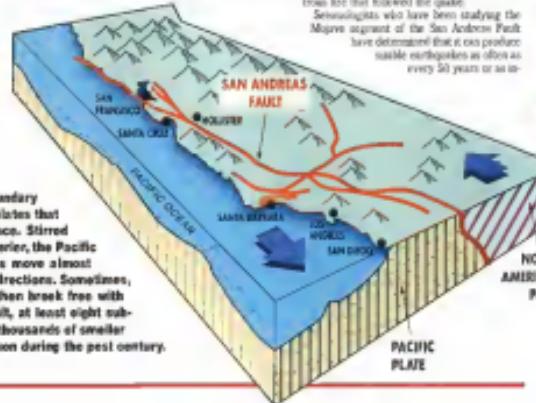
## A FEVERISH SEARCH FOR DANGER SIGNS

**A**dmirers of the theory of plate tectonics, which revolutionized earth science during the 1960s, say that the world's surface is a mosaic of rigid plates floating slowly around a smattering of smaller cracks—most of them visible—leaving off from the San Andreas Fault, all with different rates of movement. In some places, plates push past each other with relative ease. But they occasionally grind together like two files, sometimes sticking together, with pressure building up, then breaking free with explosive force, causing an earthquake. The San Andreas Fault, where the Pacific Ocean plate runs against the North American plate, is particularly susceptible to this phenomenon. Scientists say that the way the plates fit is that they sometimes grind against each other in response to the earthquakes that regularly erupt in California.

The main fault line, which stretches 800 miles almost along the entire length of California and reaches within one mile of San Francisco and 30 miles of Los Angeles, is the best understood of all fractures in the earth's crust. The San Andreas Fault moves at a rate of one

## DANGEROUS PRESSURES IN THE EARTH

A deadly fracture, California's San Andreas Fault marks the jagged boundary between two of the huge plates that make up the Earth's surface. Stirred by forces in the Earth's interior, the Pacific and North American plates move almost imperceptibly in different directions. Sometimes, the plates lock together, then break free with explosive force. As a result, at least eight substantial earthquakes, and thousands of smaller ones, have shaken the region during the past century.



inches each year, occasionally producing substantial quakes. But that is where certainty stops. California actually has a spider's web of small cracks—not all of them visible—leaving off from the San Andreas Fault, all with different rates of movement.

Twenty years ago, seismologists discovered a major hidden group of subterranean faults in the Los Angeles basin that constitutes a whole new class of earthquake hazards. They have added a host of impossibilities to the ancient science of earthquake prediction.

**Fearstruck:** David Weichert, acting director of the Pacific Geoscience Center near Victoria, said that the number of major earthquakes that scientists have been able to predict accurately is "negligible." There are various signs that could signal a quake, he added, but none of them is definite. One sign is a series of smaller foreshocks in an area where the kind of activity is unusual. Fornachon alerted authorities in the China quake of 1857, but these warning signals are easily overlooked in California, which experiences thousands of tremors every year. As far as last week's earthquake, seismologists said that there were one or two

foreshocks in an area where the kind of activity is unusual. Fornachon alerted authorities in the China quake of 1857, but these warning signals are easily overlooked in California, which experiences thousands of tremors every year. As far as last week's earthquake, seismologists said that there were one or two

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## COVER

Incredibly in every 300 years. Last week's earthquake, which registered 6.9 on the Richter scale, occurred in a segment of the San Andreas Fault that scientists have identified in recent years as a high-risk area. Said Allens, "We correctly identified it, but I won't say we predicted it because predict is a euphemism for guess." Another expert, California's geologist Christopher Schatzki, said that the quake affected only about two-thirds of the high-risk area of the fault, which extends about 45 miles from San Juan Bautista to Palo Alto on the San Francisco peninsula. "There is still a region of about 30

mi at the California Institute of Technology in a sense, we're making progress, but our appreciation of the problem is raising faster than we see it." Schatzki's point is that southern California has spelt 16,000 earthquakes a year. That makes it impossible to determine which are foreshocks and which are simply tremors that release pressure. Said Clayton: "It's an immensely complicated geological place."

**Mantle:** In Canada, the attention of seismologists has recently focused on the Juan de Fuca Fault, which runs beneath the Pacific Ocean from the centre of Vancouver Island to

the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. These stratified faults, as they are called, are much



BLASTING. San Francisco apartments: pressure between the earth's plates builds up, then breaks free with explosive force

ion to the north which did not rupture," said Schatzki, adding that the region now has a higher risk of a quake in the future.

**Cracks:** Although last week's rupture did not qualify in the Big One, it was the second substantial earthquake in California since the 1906 San Francisco quake. Two of them selected geologists to decide that they had never existed. It was only in 1967 that they discovered the reason: the fracturing had taken place 30 miles below the earth's surface, part of a network of subterranean cracks whose only evidence is a fold, or buckling, of the earth's crust. Previously, scientists had assumed that the lifts and sometimes crevices created by these folds were gradual thrusts or pressures over a long period of time, rather than by the sudden, violent changes of an earthquake.

But, while the folds have helped scientists to learn more about the mechanics of earthquakes, their recent discovery demonstrated how little those scientists have yet to learn. Said Robert Clayton, a Victoria-based geophysicist who they do not know why that particular

gap exists. One John Adams, a seismologist at the Geological Survey of Canada at Ottawa, and research indicates that the Pacific plate was slipping beneath the edge of the North American plate along that fault line. That could create a massive earthquake in British Columbia, Washington and Oregon within 50 to 100 years, he said. The federal department of energy, mines and resources is also monitoring western Quebec, the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and parts of the Maritime that register periodic surges of seismic activity.

One of Canada's biggest earthquakes occurred on Nov. 25, 1968, in the Charlevoix region of Quebec. It registered 6.0 on the Richter scale, knocked out power and telephone service and was felt as far away as New York City, which experienced a 30-second tremor. John Bell, assistant director of Boston College's Weston Observatory in Weston, Mass., said that the Charlevoix area suffered quakes of similar magnitude as 1907 and 1925. Scientists say that they do not know why that particular

older than the California ones—hundreds of millions of years old as opposed to about 4 million—and are less geologically active.

**Fracture:** The three most devastating earthquakes in North America occurred midway between St. Louis, Mo., and Memphis, Tenn., in 1811 and 1812. They sent hills sliding into the Mississippi River, which altered its course. Another great quake destroyed much of Charleston, S.C., in 1868. As a result, while attention is now focused on California, a major earthquake could strike somewhere in eastern North America. But the base line for such an occurrence is even more difficult to predict because the seismic cycle is so much greater on the East Coast than in the West. In a science taught with so many approximations, it is unlikely that experts in the near future will be able to give us more advance warning than they did for the last catastrophe to shake California.

BENJAMIN JENSEN

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# SHOCKS IN THE MARKETS

**E**ven the seasoned professionals were reluctant to participate in the volatile shorting and dealing. Peter Ardenius, rated by *The Risk Report* journal as the top risk-investment manager in the United States for each of the past two years, told *Maclean's* that he "simply sat back and did nothing" as stock markets around the world cratered on Oct. 13 and then boomed back again last Monday. Not wanting to take any unnecessary risks, Ardenius, the president of the Minneapolis-based Jm ADVANTAGE Group, held on to the blue-chip stocks and bonds that make up the bulk of the firm's \$5.2 billion in asset holdings. But other investors were not so calm. A small Toronto investor who sold off his stocks at \$11,000 last, and who didn't want to be identified, said, "I'd seriously never get into the stock market again."

The wild gyrations at share prices on markets in North America, Europe and Asia over the week proved theorist and theorist for all investors, big and small, jolted by the aftershocks of the crash, which wiped \$223 billion from the value of U.S. stocks in less than two hours, the markets did not settle down until midweek. Before then, the chilling prospect of a more devastating financial explosion—a repeat of the tragic collapse of Black Monday two years ago on Oct. 19—continued to loom large. But, by week's end, the antecedentary of the 1987 Black Monday had passed without accident, the markets had rallied and New York's bellwether Dow Jones industrial average closed on Oct. 20 at 2658.14—up a record 139.58 points for the week, and recovering 63 per cent of the 290.50-point drop it suffered on Friday the 13th.

## VOLATILITY IN THE MARKETS IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE AND MAY BECOME A REGULAR ROUTINE OF TRADING

Despite the encouraging rally, many analysts say that volatile price fluctuations will continue and may in fact become a permanent feature of the world's major mar-

kets. Scott Michalovitz Arbel, a professor of finance at Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., said that the existence of powerful computer trading programs, whose sudden selling wave triggered the collapse, makes an unpleasant repeat performance more than likely.

In addition, Arbel and other analysts argue that the large institutional investors, such as insurance companies and pension funds that caused the initial price collapse, are back in markets to buy corporate stocks once again. And that combination of large, concentrated stock holdings, which can be bought or sold almost instantly, is making the markets unstable and dangerous still, especially if the individualists who remain, added John Kenneth Galbraith, the Paul M. Warburg professor emeritus of economics at Harvard University and author of *The Great Crash, 1929*. "One can only understand the financial world if one assumes a deep and recurring irrationality."

Even more threatening is the fact that the computer traders and the huge and affluent investors they represent are expressing continued concern about the viability of debt-financed takeovers and the general health of the U.S. economy. Arbel said that my sign that the economy is in trouble, or that the market is going down, could force the anxious computer traders to push the sell button. Predicted Arbel: "We are going to have a series of corrections like the one we had on Friday the 13th. And perhaps a more significant crash like 1987."

That kind of volatility appeared early last week as trading reopened after a weekend of worry sparked by the previous Friday's plunge in New York. At first, it appeared that a massive drop was under way like Black Monday, stock markets in London and Tokyo,



New York Stock Exchange (left); traders on Bay Street; recurring irrationality\*

which opened before the New York Stock Exchange, nose-dived in heavy early trading—Tokyo's Nikkei average fell by 1.5 per cent on the first hour, and London's Financial Times Stock Index tumbled by nine per cent in two hours.

But a pattern of continuing to fall, and then jumping in a frantic free fall as the day old on Black Monday, investors in both cities soon began to take advantage of the situation by buying what had suddenly become bargain-priced shares. That, in turn, raised share prices later in the day. In Tokyo, the Nikkei closed down 1.8 per cent for the day, a significant drop, but far smaller than its catastrophic 15-per-cent fall in late October 1987. And London rallied to close at a 3.3 per-cent loss for the day.

Analysts in Tokyo reported part of the strong performance to reports of calming weekend meetings between Japanese finance ministry officials and representatives of the nation's four largest brokerage firms in London brokers and the day's fall in volume from the previous Wall Street because Britain has no so-called push-pull market—the high-risk bonds that have been blamed at part for the market's recent fall.

When stock markets in New York City red-tarped later on the same day, they too were bottomed by waves of early selling. New York's Dow Jones average, which had plummeted by 130.58 points, or 6.9 per cent on Friday the 13th, fell by another 64 points on the first 40 minutes. The decline was nearly reminiscent of Black Monday, when a 130-point drop on Friday Oct. 16 led to a catastrophe day, stock markets in London and Tokyo,



Mosley Meanwhile, in the first 30 minutes of trading in Toronto, the TSX 300 composite index, an average of leading stock prices, plunged by more than 115 points from its Friday close of 3419.78.

But the same warning stated by early observers in the Federal Reserve Board (or "Fed") in the United States made more than \$2 billion available to armenous dealers through emergency liquidity facilities for short-term brokers, which could easily have caused widespread panic, which would have caused widespread panic. In Canada, central bankers decided to discuss what actions their took to support stock markets on Monday. Gordon Thompson, senior deputy governor of the Bank of Canada, and only that the bank was to touch with central banks at other actions and was prepared to respond in any signs of what he called a "spreading crisis."

At the same time, institutional buyers began to re-enter the market in search of inexpensive blue-chip stocks. Alfred Wards, for instance, chairman of Toronto-based Crown Life Insurance Co., which administers \$10 billion in assets, found just that. He said that the morning collapse in share prices on Wall Street and Broadway's New York restaurants Donald Trump's withdrawal of a \$140-million takeover offer for AMR Inc., the parent company of American Airlines, provided him with an opening. He was able to purchase a block of shares at the company for \$71 each, compared with the \$80 that stock shares traded at the week before.

The afternoon buying spree spurred the Dow Jones index up to an 85.72-point gain for the day, erasing almost half of the loss from



## Business Notes

### GAS EXPLORE

The National Energy Board in Ottawa has given the go-ahead to three Resources Canada Ltd., Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. and Shell Canada Ltd. for the export to the United States of 9.2 billion cubic feet of natural gas from the Mackenzie Valley Delta, or 10 per cent of the region's proven reserves. The gas also must be available to Canadian buyers on the same terms. Native people had objected to the application on the grounds that their land claims should be settled before the project goes ahead.

### GZ UNDER FIRE

Provincial finance ministers warned that long-term fiscal goals for the GZ will force them to raise taxes on services, off a meeting in Montreal, the 16 finance ministers declared the proposed target was "unacceptable." They are preparing a report on the levy's potential impact on provincial economies that will be presented next month when the powers meet to discuss the state of the economy with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

### BODING ANNOUNCES LAYOFFS

About 300 employees are being laid off at the de Havilland aircraft plant in Toronto because the company says not enough jetliners have been ordered since it started. The Canadian Auto Workers Union has been told that 164 managers are to be laid off with a weekly bonus and up to 150 non-managers positions will also be cut by the end of the year.

### IMM PROFITS PLUNGE

International Business Machines Corp. of Armonk, N.Y., announced that its third-quarter profit plunged about 30 per cent as earnings dropped to \$1.03 billion in the three months that ended on Sept. 30, down from \$1.47 billion a year earlier.

**HIGH PRIORITIES FOR CONNAIGRAH**  
The University of Toronto has made a deal with a potential foreign buyer of Connaught Biologics Inc. that promises a minimum level of continued research activity in Canada. Swiss-based Chiron Corp., and its partner, Chiron Corp. of California, have committed to spending at least \$25 million over 20 years on research and drug research at Canadian centres if their takeover bid is approved by Ottawa. The agreement follows an Oct. 13 ruling by Invest-Canada rejecting the \$314-million company takeover bid by French-based Allier Millesime to because it did not provide sufficient benefit to Canada.

crash. The Dow 3000, in turn, climbed by 56.55 points, compared with a 140.4-point loss the previous Friday.

Closely relieved by the recovery, brokers and traders said that a number of factors contributed to the market's sudden climb. For one, they cited quick action by central bankers in Japan and Europe, along with the Fed's action, to reassure brokers and dealers. The Fed's statements and action contrasted with its actions in 1982. Then, an offer to act as a leader of last resort was too late to stop the panic that had already been深ened by rumors of brokerage insolvencies.

Meanwhile, brokers themselves tried to project a sense of calm. Before trading opened on Monday morning, Ian Katz, a vice-president with Toronto-based brokerage house Merton Investment Corp., sent thousands of copies of a brochure entitled *An Unfinished Story Of Capitalism* or *Advocacy* by his clientizing counsel and by electronic facsimile machine. That evening, Wall Street brokerage house Prudential Securities began using television commercials to insist that "the stock market is still the place to go for long-term appreciation." Finally, as a result, many of the individual investors who remained in the market did not panic as they

did in 1987. Larry Eisenberg, a 27-year-old Toronto analytical chemist, said that he held on to about \$80,000 worth of mutual funds and blue-chip stocks early last week. But on Black Monday, he frantically sold much of his holdings in gold shares and penny stocks, losing about \$1,000.

By the middle of last week, the markets started to rally strongly, with some of the recovery provoked by unexpected forces. On Wednesday, shares of some U.S. insurance companies, such as General Re Corp. and American International Group Inc., shot up following the San Francisco earthquake. Investors bought those shares because of the likelihood that it will be easier for the companies—who have been battling one another in prior years—to increase their premiums at the wake of the estimated \$1.2 billion in claims they will have to pay in quid pro quo.

But other stocks, particularly those of companies on the verge of acquiring huge debt loads through pack-hawk financing and takeovers, continued to suffer. Shares in TAL Corp., the parent company of United Airlines that had triggered the collapse when it announced that a proposed \$6-billion management buyout had fallen through, plunged by \$10.95 last week to close at \$16.85.

Many analysts blamed the members of the junk-bond market, which resulted in the near-collapse of Toronto-based Golden Cross Corp. last month, for the market's collapse [page 72]. Golden Cross and that company's main rival, Toronto Cement Corp., "dangerously overextended with debt," Branson said, that should as to long-term planning are being used instead for short-term planning." Adds John Tait, executive vice-president of Toronto-based credit investment firm, "Just bonds lead to junk stocks."

For its part, BMO Advisory president Audrean said the fact that large institutional investors account for up to 70 per cent of the trading on Wall Street will lead to continuing instability. He added that these powerful investors "lead in later to the same information as anyone else. And when you get all the portfolio managers on one side of the boat, the boat ruptures."

Other brokers said that program trading should be blamed. While program trading now accounts for only about 12 per cent of the daily trading volume on the New York stock exchange, Selwyn Klett, president of Laurentian Investment Management (Canada) Inc. in Toronto, and that the sale of hundreds of thousands of shares within minutes by computers after exaggerated price drops. Adds Klett: "The direct result of the market cannot be blamed on the programs—but the extent of it can be." Still, Cyril (Cap) Leslie, a broker with Wood Gandy Inc. in Toronto, said that program buying actually helped launch the recovery on Monday.

And in the increasingly volatile environment, even some of the industry's most well-known names are reluctant to make predictions about what will happen next. Robert Proctor, the editor of the market newsletter the *BBH*



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## BUSINESS

Mike Thorpe, who started no standoffs after he predicted on Oct. 5, 1987, that the stock market would drag, said that he is no longer willing to make pronouncements for the general public. Prechter acknowledged that he has frequently been wrong this year and that factors other than the forecasts of so-called experts drove the market down on Friday the 13th. He added: "This downturn gives us to show that it is underlying psychology that turns the market. The market is much bigger than Bob Prechter or Joe Gann."

Ian McAvoy, president of Toronto-based McAvoy Capital Corp., said that the recent gains have faded from public view is that there audience consisted of individual investors who fled the market after 1987. And he said that these investors should be wary of entering the market again. Much of the upward climb over the past year, he added, can be attributed to unrealistic expectations generated by largely frenzied talkators. "Why was this up at \$351 a share recently?" said McAvoy, "when it was only worth \$75 a few short months ago?" Other analysts were even more pessimistic as their warnings. Last week, Andrewson predicted continued volatility and a 250-point decline in the New York average by the end of the year.

Some other economists and business leaders maintained that the Friday the 13th collapse will provide a strong general economic downturn. Michael Willis, chairman of the Vancouver-based Pacific Institute, said that fluctuations in the stock market are based mainly on changes in investors' perceptions about the future. He added: "The thing about expectations is that they're not based on anything real." Purdy Crawford, chairman of Mississauga-based Wilsons, retailing and manufacturing management, Inc., added: "What is happening to the stock market will not have any effect on the real economy at all. It's people reacting emotionally and psychologically."

But brokers who are taking money for small and medium-sized corporations in the stock market and they are concerned that Friday the 13th will choke off interest in new share issues. John Ahearn, head of the corporate finance department at Montreal-based brokerage firm McNeil Martch Inc., said that the market for new issues collapsed after October, 1987, and that small investors were only beginning to show renewed interest in them this fall. But after last week, Ahearn added, investors now feel quite helpless; they feel that things are out of their control. "As a result, he said, "Only better-managed companies will be able to come back to the market in the near future." Still, the confidence of smaller investors may recover as quickly as stock prices did last week—but for broken bones could take much longer.

JOHN DAVIS with JULIA CAZIER,  
ANN HALLISTER and JOHN DOWNTON in  
Toronto; JENNIFER GLYNN and DAVID LINDHORP in  
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## BUSINESS WATCH

# PAINTING THE TOWN RED IN BLACK & WHITE.



## The Canadian who Sparked the Crash

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Apart from making more money than he can possibly spend, Robert Carpendo's ultimate ambition is to make history. He may yet succeed by creating Canada's most spectacular bankruptcy—in his own—before he settles for a footnote. As motivating circumstances of the Oct. 13 market crash are being analyzed in greater detail, one post-mortem option that Canada's highest-flying entrepreneur was one of the chief subjects. It was Carpendo's inability to ward off interest payments that initially created the chapter of doubt in the validity of the major oil-related upbeat scenario—and that, in turn, triggered the massive share-price correction.

The players set off by the dozen in value of Campbell's past bonds, described by *The Financial Post* as "the scales of justice" on a par with those of the quid pro quo of the recent terrorist acts of bin Laden and other jihadists. At the top of the list was a debt issue of \$9 billion, yet Carpendo had no creditors enough to mount a minimum coverage of a few thousand dollars' worth of cashflow to his department store, Poor Campbell's. His debt plateau almost qualified him for status as a Third World country, which is the current euphemism for someone might have solved his problems. Instead, he watched helplessly as the value of his high-yield securities plummeted on U.S. and Canadian exchanges.

Although Carpendo was temporarily rescued by the Reichmans, who grabbed control of his company as creditors the disconsolate public bondholders began to liquidate their positions in most of them as reorganized but stock-still-for-the-moment companies—the move that, when it became an avalanche, culminated in the Oct. 13 debacle.

Buried deep in the folk memory of some of the more seasoned Wall and Bay Street types, these may have surfaced the validated idea that stock prices should represent genuine investment values such as levels of net earnings, long-term return-on-investment projections,

liquidity. Those are the items that financed shareholders by floating the high-yield securities in the first place and now find that they are locked into having to pay exorbitant compound interest rates on their borrowings.

At the same time, the United States continues to face the economic pit of having most of its total savings and assets have run on the edge of bankruptcy. Defaults costing an estimated \$7 billion to \$10 billion will be required to put the American banking system afloat, and, at the moment, no one seems sure how Washington can find such a massive cash injection.

As if that were not enough, there is the connect thread of a Third World debt collapse beginning over in all. Just this month, First Chicago, the United States' third-largest bank, reported a substantial third-quarter loss because of losses it set aside against the expected default of a South American loan portfolio. J. P. Morgan & Co. Inc., the highly respected merchant bank, recently posted a \$3.8-billion loss for similar reasons, so did the Bank of New York and Citicorp. Canadian bankers were originally sued \$16.6 billion by Third World countries, but they have since set aside \$7 billion in reserves against the expected bad loans. The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce has gone the further, writing off an entire \$1.17-billion Third World debt, except for its Mexican obligations.

Apart from the hazards posed to the stock markets by the combination of shorting junk bonds and liquidating savings and loan liabilities, on top of the increasingly unacceptable Third World debt, there is an underlying uneasiness about the manner in which the valuation of the Japanese stock exchange. Back in 1972, the Dow Jones index stood at about one-third of the Tokyo index. Now, the Japanese index ranges around 1,400, compared with the 2,000 Dow Jones price level. What seems to be going on—though nobody seems to know where the Japanese market will end up in concert with the others—is that Japan is trying to protect Japanese savers to cut off their huge balance of U.S. and Canadian bonds, which could set off a major recession or worse. A recession is due anyway, since no prior business cycle has exceeded the current eight-year upswing.

These disturbing phenomena are worldwide. One example of how fast fortunes have changed Australia's steel and brewing tycoon Alan Bond, who so recently issued the headlines by going to an uncredited \$64.8 million for Tas. Goliath's Joint, is deep financial trouble. His huge empire is unraveling—the Bank of Tasmania, which was the lead institution in the group that financed Bond's \$3.5-billion purchase of the D. Holman Brewing Co. de la Croix, \$16.6-million loss, thought to be directly attributable to Bond's current difficulties.

All in all, the stock market has turned to be a playground for small investors serious to real-life savers or seek hedge against inflation. Yet it's only the professionals who can afford the game now, and with massive money moves like Robert Carpendo on the loose, even their future seems as uncertain as his.



## THE IMPERIAL ROOM

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<sup>1</sup>J.D. Power and Associates 1989 Initial Quality Survey<sup>™</sup>, covering November and December 1989 for 1990 model. Based on U.S. owners' reported problems during the first 90 days of ownership. For your GM dealer for details about Total<sup>™</sup> warranty coverage.



## 1990 BUICK LESABRE *The Buick Touch.*

## EXCITEMENT IN A CAPSULE

For British enterpreneur Peter Ustinov, the best stories are short ones. "It's essential, in storytelling, that your audience does not sleep off," said Ustinov, 58, the master showman, storyteller and author of 10 books, whose newly released work of fiction, *The Skinflorists*, consists of two humorous 15-page chapters. Ustinov, who said that he is banned by fellow authors "lengthy descriptions of tortures and such things," edited, "I have come to the conclusion, through bitter experience, that everything that has ever been written is a tiny bit too long."



Woman in love with a weatherman

## Power-driven

**H**ollywood actor Don Johnson, the husband of actress Mckenzie Griffiths, is at work seducing a married woman. He is playing a weatherman and a doctor in his latest movie, *The Hot Spot*, costarring Virginia Madsen and now being filmed outside Austin, Tex. But the 39-year-old actor says that, while he loves acting, he gets some of his bigger thrills from handling powerful, sleek sportsboats, and adds that he finds riding "sexy." Johnson recently acquired a custom-made 50-foot 3,200-horsepower speedboat called Team USA to take part in last week's World Superboat Championships in Atlantic City, N.J. The boat, which cost more than \$1.2 million, can top 120 mph. Johnson learned to handle high-performance boats in 1984 for his role as Det. Sonny Crockett in the former TV series *Miami Vice*. Now he said that he is hooked on racing over water because it's "dangerous, exciting." He assumes that Johnson cannot get enough of power and action.



Johnson: high-performance

## WRITING WITHOUT MERCY

**D**uring her eight years in First Lady Nancy Reagan says that she often had her feelings hurt. In her memoirs, *My Turn*, former producer Ronald Reagan's wife writes that the media's frequent depictions of her as a "power-hungry manipulator" or "a vindictive dragon lady" were unfair and upsetting. "I come to realize, not without pain," writes Reagan, "that while Ronald Reagan was very popular, some people did not like his wife very much." Yet Reagan, now a Los Angeles, Calif., resident, has no trouble looking out at others in her low-cut-and-back-to-be-released-on-Nov.-16 *She Deserves a Seven* counterpart, Michael Gorbachev's wife, Raisa; nor, for that, is "angry." Writes Reagan: "She struck me as a woman who reported to be dedicated to her conversational style made me bristle. She talked and talked and talked—so much that I could hardly get a word in." Clearly, the former first lady does not believe in the value of discretion.



Reagan: "a vindictive dragon lady."

## A STAR WITHOUT EGO

When three actresses exit as if they are engaged to the same man, movie producer Orville Polkiss says that he considers trouble. But he adds that there were no problems during the filming of the comedy *North Windings*, to be released on Oct. 27, about three women in love with a weatherman. Polkiss said that not even Lasley Anne Warren, 41, who is the best-known of the actresses maladjusted in the 1982 sitcom *Vickey Vicarous*, dared to be treated as the leading lady. Polkiss added that the actresses got an "thermodynamically" showing that friendship outweighs passion.

## A voice lost in the crowd

**C**anadian soprano André-Philippe Gagnon says that he believes anyone can be easily swayed—except himself. Gagnon, 28, added that he can usually master any celebrity's rose and noseances within hours. But Gagnon, who last week won a coveted Fiber Award from the Quebec music industry for his comedy, said that he would be the most frustrating star to try to copy. Said Gagnon: "The problem is that I have such a nasal voice."

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# Towards new goals

*YTV recognizes young Canadians' achievements*

**L**ike thousands of Canadian teenagers, 16-year-old Joe Philion wants to get a driver's license. But first, the high school student from Guelph, Ont., will have to learn to walk again—and that may take a miracle of perseverance, determination and courage. On March 18, 1988, Philion suffered third- and fourth-degree burns to 40 per cent of his body when fire destroyed the family home. He spent the next 13 months in Boston and Toronto hospitals, and, since his release last April, he has been confined to a wheelchair. In recognition of his heroic fight, Philion will receive a honorary award on Nov. 3 in Toronto as part of a nationally televised youth achievement ceremony. *See Philion*



*Brig.-Gen. Archie Brown with Philhar coverage*

**S**ad Philion, "I want to get as mobile as I can." For aspiring writer Lorraine, deciphering and a vivid imagination have been the key elements of her success. Raised in the farming community of Mission, 533 km northwest of Edmonton, she said that she spends at least two hours a day writing even though she is studying library management at an Edmonton community college. She speculates in speculative fiction, which involves the future or the supernatural, and writes for 10- to 14-year-olds. Two of her books, *Unleashing the Dragon* and *Escape to Mr. Observatory*, were published in 1988, and several others are being considered for publication. *See Lorraine*

"My long-term goal is to become a full-time writer." The entrepreneur Goldberg, starting business at the age of 14 seemed a natural thing to do. After all, his grandfather was a prominent Wapping businessman, while his father and an uncle are both chartered accountants. Goldberg, now 18, is spending Computer Services on weekends and summer holidays through high school. The company set up computerized accounting programs for small retail, service and construction firms. Goldberg said he is now studying at the University of Manitoba and says that he hopes to become a chartered accountant himself. *See Goldberg*: Being financially independent is my goal.

**M**oreover, a childhood fascination with electronics turned Joshua Richman into a student inventor. Richman, whose home town is 380 km east of Toronto, and that he works on his inventions in his spare time and that each one takes him as seven months to develop. Richman said that he has yet been able yet to sell his creations commercially, but for the past three years he has entered the National Science Fair, a nationwide student competition, and was several times. *See Richman*: "I always liked taking things apart and creating new things."

For YTV, the awards represent an attempt to play an even larger role in the lives of young

Canadians following a successful first year of operations.

Shea

and Oat

the annual report of the Toronto-based Bureau of Broadcast Measurement, a national audience rating service, revealed that YTV had attracted larger audiences in the year that ended Aug. 31 than other specialty services such as TBS, the all-sports channel, and MuchMusic, which specializes in rock videos. And that is, said Shea, was a major achievement.

The awards were created by YTV, a specialty channel whose educational and entertainment programming is aimed at teenagers, ranging from the drama, *Teenage Tales*, to *The Teenage Survival Service*, which began broadcasting in September, 1986, and can be seen from coast to coast at 5.5 million homes. YTV president Karen Shea said that 35 awards will be presented to individuals or groups for outstanding achievements in fields ranging from writing to entrepreneurship and acting. All of the recipients are 18 or under. *See Shea*, 35. "We want these awards to become the Order of Canada for young kids."

Each of the winners selected from a field of 500 applicants, will receive a \$2,000 cash prize and a trip to Toronto for the presentation. The \$45,000 in prize money will be put up by the corporate sponsors. Among the winners: Brigitte Lefebvre, 18, a college student from north-central Alberta who has written 14 novels, two of which have been published; Jason Goldberg, 18, a Winnipeg university student who has his own computer-consulting company through high school; and Jordan Richardson, 15, a Labrador, Ont., high-school student who invented a burglar alarm, a mechanical hand and a device to make solar heating panels more efficient.

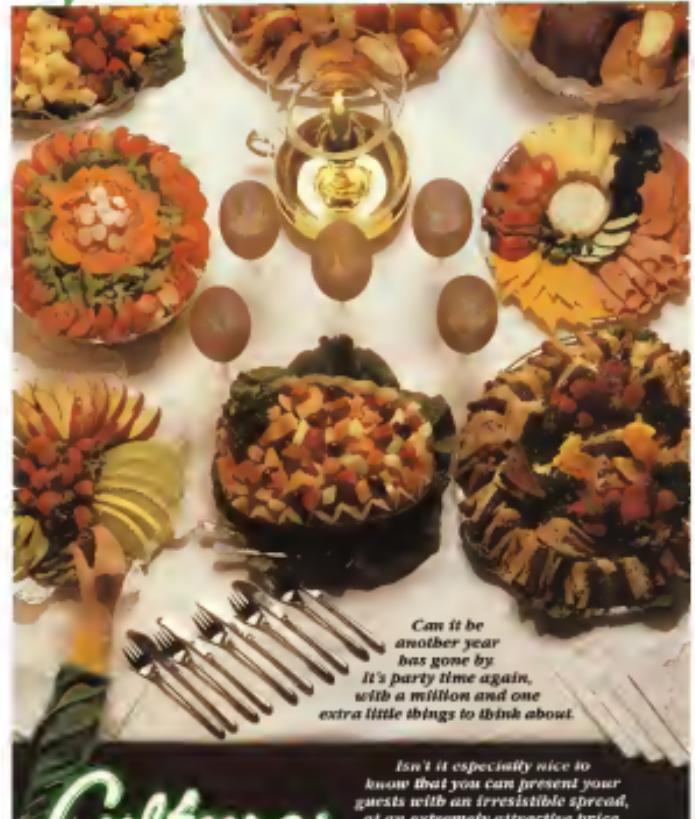
But even in this accomplished group, Philion stands out as an extraordinary example of human courage and determination. His ordeal began when he was awakened in a March evening by the smell of smoke in the family

*Shea playing a larger role*



*DARCY JENISH*

# Life in the FRESH LANE.



*Can it be another year has gone by, it's party time again, with a million and one extra little things to think about.*

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## JOURNALISM

# Packaging the news

Racy talk shows masquerade as news programs

For television talk-show host Geraldo Rivera, it was a typical week of live television audience television. He led off his five daily one-hour episodes with an interview entitled "Crisis of Malfeasance" in which he and his guests tried to identify the forces that drive people to murder. Tuesday's installment, "Dragon Ladies," was an unfurling discussion of such well-known powerful women as former first lady Nancy Reagan, singer Yoko Ono and actress Jane Fonda. On Wednesday, Rivera's guests tried to answer the question: "Where is it at to kill?" He wrapped up the week with a look at lead rock-music lyrics and women addressed in cocaine. That week Rivera planned to provide daily ratings and morale indicators across Canada and the United States. His program, "Geraldo," has become firmly anchored in what the television industry and its critics dismiss as "Shame TV": privately produced, syndicated programs that rely on sensationalism to attract larger audiences while masquerading as television programs in pursuit of public issues.

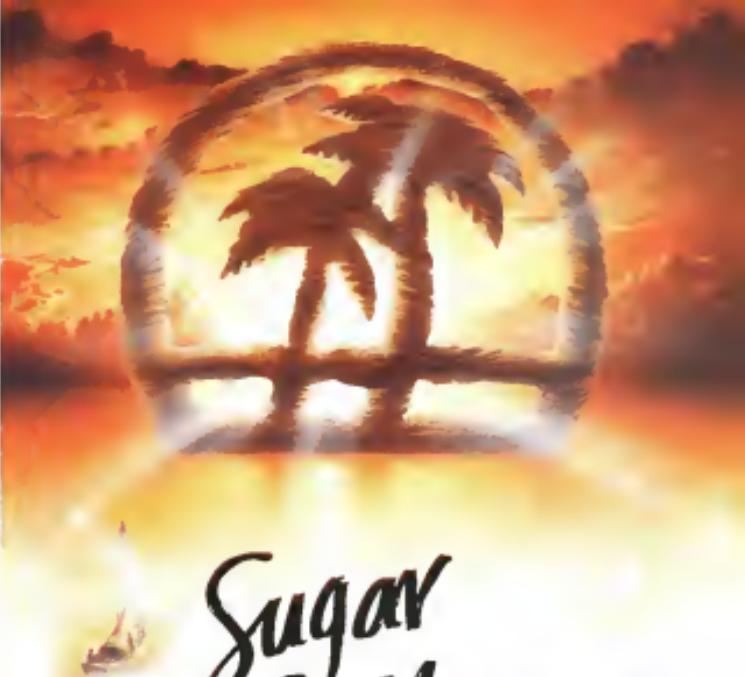
The latest crop of racy, marketing-oriented daytime-decorate-and-talk shows, packaged

Rather: concern that some traditional journalistic rules are being ignored

debt for ABC-TV news, had his nose broken in a brawl involving blacks, white racists and skinheads during a taping of his program last November. The cameras continued to roll and the fight was broadcast. Oprah Winfrey, host of the daytime talk show *Oprah*, has dealt with such topics as pornography addicts, witches, priests who kill their children—and children who kill their parents. The Oct. 19 edition of *A Current Affair*, packaged by the Fox Broadcasting Co., which is owned by communications tycoon Rupert Murdoch, carried a heavily suggestive item about a stripper called Gon who acted in a Wyoming saloon; the cost of her performance was taken from a videotape that Gon apparently gave to the producer.

The use of re-creations of events on videotape that has caused controversy. In July, ABC's *World News Tonight* with Tom Brokaw and Peter Jennings, reported that Pelti Bloch, a 68-year-old American diplomat, was alleged to have spied for the Soviet Union. The show ran a videotape purporting to show a film clip of Bloch passing a briefcase to a Soviet agent in Paris. Some members of the news staff knew better and complained bitterly to the producers. As a result, ABC later apologized publicly, saying that the tape should have been identified as a "re-enactment."

Another controversy erupted last month, when the tabloid *New York Post* ran a story charging that *The Late Evening News*, hosted by Dan Rather, "used faked battle footage and false news accounts of the war in Afghanistan on at least four occasions in the past 10 weeks." The Post cited "military and media sources in



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Bill Rydell



Joe Bowen



Scott Ferguson



Howard Berger



Ken Riddell

**AM 1430**  
THE VOICE OF THE BLUE JAYS

the United States, Europe and Asia" as sources for the story, and added that "Roung's film which shows guerrillas exploding bombs and action-packed commando scenes was entirely fake." Gruen denied that he had shown bags full of Andean Hoover or Baby Who, the freelance cameraman, denied that he had shot exp. White House in a New York Times article last week. The shots would have virtually impossible to take—exchanging rocket fire, cluster-bomb attacks and a Soviet helicopter firing on the camera."

At times, he appears to be untiring art as the highly paid star of slick network-audience shows attract greater attention than the news content of the shows themselves. Some industry observers say that the trend has begun to blur the distinction between big-budget network talk-show programs on the one hand and network situation comedies and dramatic series on the other. Last week, Saturday Night's Cheng appeared on a segment of *Monday Movie*, a weekly slot of female broadsheet journalists starring Candice Bergen. In that interview, Bergen—in her role as Murphy Brown—came on appearance as a comedy show. Cheng told Bergen tongue-in-cheek, that she had no audience, appearing on a comedy show. Said Cheng: "I think it's wrong for a person of your stature to appear on a sitcom. Once you do that, fine, you undermine your credibility."

The fuzzy distinctions are also found in those between prime-time network-audience shows and glorified network sitcoms. Television insiders say that the drive to make news programs more entertainment has pushed them closer to the attitudes which characterize the independently produced, low-budget stable inhabited by the likes of *A Current Affair*. This season will be launched *Prime Time Live* with co-hosts Dan Aykroyd and Sean Denoncour, for years the network's acerbic *White House* correspondent. Both along with Cheng, draw salaries well in excess of \$1 million a year, according to published reports. Swayer netted \$1.2 million at the end of a recent headcount for apparently locking Barbara Bush's dog during a *White House* live. While they exchanged zingers, the studio audience laughed and applauded. Commented Matt Roush, the TV critic for the newspaper *USA Today*: "So far, the news announcing these shows has less to do with content than with the talent."

But viewers are also drawing harsh criticism. *News Copy* is a short-form magazine show produced by Paramount Communications Inc. and sold to stations affiliated with the three major networks. In late September, 1984, the CBS *Evening Edition* at New York City, followed *News Copy's* super-hour network news with a half-hour episode of *News Copy* containing a segment dealing with the August murder of a young black man in a predominantly white suburb of Brooklyn's Bensonhurst neighborhood. The rest of the show proceeded disastrously. "You could see the faces of Brooklyn to the mayor's confusion," Vick in splitting silver-tongued lies. "New York's naturally electable on Nov. 7 will pit David Dinkins, the black Democratic candidate who drew substantial

white support in the primary, against white Republican Rudolph Giuliani. The film footage included shots of blacks rioting in the Watts district of Los Angeles 24 years ago.

The program succeeded A. M. Rosenthal, a widely respected columnist and former news managing editor of *The New York Times*. While

Rosenthal borrowed from entertainment writing—from Disney movies to staged re-enactments of a scene)—he began to sweep away some public affairs programming. Last week, *A Current Affair* earned an item about a statistician who survived when the San Francisco earthquake collapsed a stretch of Interstate 80 highway 800'. The piece created a sense of unease, driving a spinning wheel and a dash-board clock showing the time of 5:04—the moment the quake hit. Then, the theme music of the prime-time soap opera *Dallas* played throughout a second item about the arrest on theft charges of Gary Hargrave, the half-brother of *Dallas* star Larry Hagman. And on a recent episode of *Saturday Night Live* with Connie Stevens, actor James Earl Ray appeared as a re-enactment of a historic scene involving the 1960s black civil rights activist, Vernon Johns. For his part, Cheng coined "the motion picture quality" conveyed by such sensations. Still, an article in the Sept. 27 issue of the New York-based *Media Alert* *Newspaper* criticized Cheng's standards: "She misses the whole point of the dispute: it's not the caliber of actors, or sets or film that speaks that speaks, the journalism said. "It's the fact that news is being stupid."

Many industry experts say that re-enactments should be used rarely, and with the greatest care. Mark Sherrin, executive producer of the cbs's interview and documentary program *72 Journal*, said that re-enactment "has to be based on transcripts supported by eyewitnesses." As licensure, he said, will let *SNL* and *Journal* producers, based on transcripts and witness stories, of a portion of the classified *72* naming of *Cold War* leaders in London. The veterans had to be carefully researched, he said. "Witnesses sometimes come back with a bad memory." On top of that, the transcript does not give you the dimension of how keenly did somebody say this or that, so you have to have eyewitness support." If so much, the use of actors and acting in *Dallas* television advertising programming has been largely limited to historically based drama.

Some industry observers say that concern about television's show-business drift is exaggerated. Caspar Weinberger, Robert McNeil, co-host of *McNeil/Lehr NewsHour*, and that the American appetite for great journalism "stretches all the way from journalists like *News Copy's* magazine at one end of the spectrum to papers like *Stevens* on the other." *Stevens*, and McNeil, can follow that trend by breaking off "the slick, centrist material in terms of taste, and I don't think that is an unhealthy thing." There is a limit, he said, "to the variety of human, sexual and odd experience for these talk shows, and all they look at domestic passion and subdomestic and fraternal, when can they go?" For television viewers, it is a sobering question. Only one thing seemed certain: sooner or later, Connie Stevens will try to provide the answer.



Jerome apology for a 're-creation'



Savvy: more talent than content

"only somebody afflicted with terminal stupidity would think racial problems are not serious in New York." Rosenthal wrote in the Oct. 12 address, the *News Copy's* semi-annual journalism garage; that comment "busted at creating the impression that New York was about to go up in flames."

**RAE CORLETT** and **WILLIAM LOWTHER** in  
*Blueprints and crossroads* (See

# Sex and scandal

An inquiry hears graphic allegations of abuse

**A**ccording to his own testimony, 17 years after he arrived at the forbidding yellowstone Mount Cashel orphanage in St. John's, Newfoundland, Shaw Earle was sexually molested by one of the Christian Brothers who once cared for him and had entrusted him. Last week, the former orphanage resident testified that the incident was only the first in a series of sexual and physical abuses that he experienced during 15 years at the institution. During two days of testimony before a royal commission hearing into alleged abuse at the home, Earle, now 33, and that within hours of entering Mount Cashel a home for children run by the Christian Brothers, a Roman Catholic lay order, one of the brothers attacked him in a storage room. Earle also testified that after numerous sexually abused him, he later went on to abuse younger boys at the orphanage himself.

Earle, whose allegations about the treatment of children at Mount Cashel helped to spark the inquiry, also testified that fear of being beaten prevented him and other boys from complaining about their mistreatment at the institution. Said Earle: "If another brother heard you complain, it would get you beaten." Provincial police officers sat up the inquiry, under former Ontario Superior Court justice Samuel Hughes, to try to determine how the criminal justice system handled complaints from more than 25 boys about a case involving Christian Brothers at Mount Cashel during the mid-1970s. Last week, a Newfoundland police inspector testified that superiors ordered him in 1973 to suspend his investigation of two Christian Brothers who had admitted sexually abusing boys at the home.

As well, Earle indicated in his testimony that sexual abuse at Mount Cashel continued after 1975, when many of the Christian Brothers alleged to have sent him to the orphanage for teaching posts in other provinces. Earle, who was sent to the orphanage after his parents separated in 1972, said that he suffered abuse from a Christian Brother named Douglas Keniry on his first day at Mount Cashel. Later, he said that he was sexually abused by four other brothers, including Brother Edward Relpho, who he had told her several times that Relpho told the inquiry that the most brutal abuse came from Brother Joseph Burke, a man whom Earle originally considered "very gentle." Earle testified that, on one occasion, Burke struck his fingers into Earle's rectum after applying liquid to the boy's body to treat a rash caused by chicken pox. "He used

me, 'Did it tickle?'" Earle recalled, "and I just remember crying."

In December, 1975, after Burke allegedly beat Earle with a belt for losing a Monopoly card, Earle left Mount Cashel with his older brother, William. "I couldn't understand why he was doing this to me," said Earle. "I

thought, 'Did it tickle?'" Earle said, "and I just remember crying."

In January, 1976, after Burke allegedly beat Earle with a belt for losing a Monopoly card, Earle left Mount Cashel with his older brother, William. "I couldn't understand why he was doing this to me," said Earle. "I thought, 'Did it tickle?'" Earle said, "and I just remember crying."

In his testimony last week, Earle indicated that the abuse at the orphanage continued, although he personally was not abused after his return. He said that during the late 1970s, he saw older boys having sex with younger boys Earle himself because the subject of a 1985 investigation after five residents of the home complained to relatives that they had been abused by Earle and another brother Earle told the hearing, "I was partial to sexual acts by older boys with myself, and later getting involved with my peers and boys much younger than myself."

Still, Earle testified that the memories of his treatment at Mount Cashel had haunted him,

and in 1985 he attempted to kill himself by taking an overdose of pills. Although the pills turned out to be only vitamins, Earle said that he received psychiatric care for two months for severe depression. Two years later, he left Mount Cashel for the last time. Last February, when he learned that the police were investigating Mount Cashel again, Earle went to the police and made an extensive statement about the way he said that he had been treated at the institution. At that time, eight Christian Brothers were charged.

Last Thursday, Denis Green, a lawyer representing Earle, refused to cross-examine Earle, saying that his client's reputation had been unfairly damaged by unfounded charges. "In a sense, it ages a person on such persons," said Green. "Any allegation can be made against them, you can go into great detail hear them, and there seems to be malice in every case." Burke's lawyer, Brian Casey, said that he may add that the charges against Burke be dismissed on the grounds that his right to a fair trial have been hurt. But earlier, Hughes dismissed similar complaints by defense lawyers.

The耳pho inquiry is one of three currently under way in Newfoundland—the Catholic church is conducting the others—to investigate sexual scandals involving sexual abuse allegations. Since early 1988, 18 priests, former priests or lay members of the Roman Catholic community have been charged or convicted of sex-related offenses involving boys. Although Newfoundlanders are clearly determined now to put past mistakes, testimony at the Hughes inquiry has raised serious questions about the behavior of officials who were responsible for acting against wrongdoing.



Earle: four presented complaints

thought he died me." Earle recounted that during the beating, Burke had said, "Stop crying or I'm going to continue." But, Burke added, "I wouldn't stop, and he kept beating and beating until I couldn't feel it anymore."

The boy's report of the beating to Chetley Riche, a former orphanage worker, prompted Riche to contact his mother, who complained to the Newfoundland social services department. That complaint led to an investigation by the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, the provincial police force. But kept Ralph



Rub shoulders with Royalty.

CROWN ROYAL



Tusk seizure in South Africa: controversy over a species facing extinction

## LAW

# A reprieve for the Eye

*A court of appeal reduces a mammoth libel award*

**T**hroughout its often troubled 28-year history, the British satirical journal *Private Eye* has mercilessly lampooned public figures and accused them of obscenities and even criminal behavior in articles that most mainstream newspapers and magazines would never consider publishing. As a result, *Private Eye's* editors traditionally avoided libel actions largely as a matter of routine. But they expressed shock last May when a British court ordered the magazine to pay \$1.1 million in libel damages. It was the largest award in British history, and it raised the possibility that the fortnightly publication might be forced into bankruptcy. Then, *Private Eye* owners appealed the award—and last week, a three-page panel of appellate judges ruled that they would reassess the amount of damages at a later date.

The Appeal Court, however, dismissed the magazine's contention that it had not libeled Sonia Sutcliffe, the estranged wife of the so-called Borstal Rapper, Peter Sutcliffe. Sutcliffe, 42, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1981 for killing his 15 wives. That year, he was paroled in 1983. *Private Eye* claimed that Sonia Sutcliffe agreed not to sue her way to the British tabloid newspaper *Daily Mail* for \$260,000. Sutcliffe sued in 1987, and a High Court jury in London ruled in her favor. Lawyers for the Eye, as it is commonly known, argued during the trial that the articles were aimed at the tabloid press's practice of cheap-jack journalism—paying for interviews.

After the initial judgment, the Eye's editors posted in the wide gap between the amount it had been ordered to pay and the average payments of \$32,569 compensation awards awarded to the families of Sutcliffe's victims. In Britain, juries in libel cases make awards for damages without any advice from the presiding judge. But the judgment against *Private Eye* led to calls for reform of the nation's libel laws. As a result, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government announced in June that it would review libel legislation. After the jury's decision in May, editor Ian Hislop declared, "If that is justice, then I am a banana." Last week, he announced with evident delight: "The judges have said the award is too much. I am not a banana."

Some experts said that the ban could ultimately help to control the elephant slaughter by influencing international public opinion and discouraging consumers from buying articles made of ivory. These items traditionally include shaving brushes, piano keys, jewelry and carvings. If the ban does not prove effective, the future of the African elephant could be bleak. Informed estimates show that if the present rate of killing continues, the world's largest land animal could become extinct within the next 50 years.

MARK NICHOLS with correspondents' reports

BARBARA WICKENS and ANDREW PHILLIPS in London

## WILDLIFE

# A ban on ivory

Nations attempt to save Africa's elephants

**T**en years ago, about 1.5 million elephants roamed the African bush. Now, poachers hunting by poach-the-winner techniques are gunning down the animals and their numbers are now down to about 600,000. As a result, an international conference of delegates from 103 nations meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland, last week agreed to declare African elephants an endangered species and to ban the international trade in ivory beginning in January 1980. But five African nations rejected the ban and said that they would continue the trade. In the aftermath, experts were divided over whether the meeting's outcome would help to save the animals—or encourage poachers to continue their assault on the dwindling herds.

The conference, sponsored by the United Nations Conference on International Trade in Endangered Species, won support for the ban from the United States, Canada, the European Economic Community and 62 other nations. Japan, which consumes nearly 40 percent of the estimated \$225 million worth of ivory traded each year, abstained from the vote, although officials said that their nation would comply with the ban. At the same time, representatives of the southern African nations of Rhodesia, Botswana and Mozambique said that they will agree to the majority agreement.

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## SPACE

# Journey to Jupiter

Galileo streaks off on an ambitious mission

Project engineers at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) control centre at Cape Canaveral observed last week as the space shuttle *Atlantis* rose majestically into the air, spraying streams of exhaust as it accelerated into the dense blue Florida sky. The shuttle carried five astronauts. And nestled in its hold was the 2.5-tonne space vehicle *Galileo*, which, on hours and 21 minutes later, the astronauts released into space on its own to begin the most sophisticated interplanetary mission ever attempted: a 2.4-billion-kilometre odyssey to the planet Jupiter. It will take *Galileo* until next December to orbit Jupiter, and reach more

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The historic \$1.6-billion mission began after a series of weather delays and a legal action mounted by environmentalists, who objected to the 49.25 lb of radioactive plutonium-238 that is used as fuel for *Galileo's* generators in space. Members of the 75-group Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice appeared in a U.S. district court in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 10 in an effort to obtain an injunction against the mission. The environmentalists argued that the shuttle had a 1-in-70 chance of exploding on liftoff, a disaster that would strike the *Challenger* in January, 1986.

They said that such an accident could contaminate the entire state of Florida with radioactive debris. Environmentalists also argued that when *Galileo* passes through the Earth's

gravitational field later, it could dislodge radioactive particles from the plutonium as the radioactive plutonium dust scattered over Earth's surface.

For their part, NASA officials said that the U.S. energy department had spent \$3.7 million submitting plutonium pellets to shock tests to satisfy themselves that there was only a 1-in-2,500 chance of an explosion causing radioactive fallout. The district court judge ruled against the environmentalists, and in a subsequent appeal—only two days before the launch—three federal Court of Appeal judges upheld the ruling, removing the fuel legal challenge to the mission.

The announced *Galileo*, bearing the name of the Italian astronomer who discovered four of Jupiter's 12 gleaming moons in 1610, will be the first spacecraft to attempt to penetrate the atmosphere of the solar system's largest planet. The newest and most advanced space vehicle has come to Jupiter via NASA's



Galileo: a six-year quest for clues to the origins of the universe

Voyager 2 passed at 1979. It transmitted more than 30,000 photographs back to Earth, revealing a brilliant, luminous ring of dust particles around the planet. The pictures also

project since 1976, was one of 13 scientists who participated in the development of the cameras. About three thousand and enabling a continuous telescope and television camera.

Anger, who has been

involved with the Galileo project since 1976, was one of 13 scientists who participated in the development of the cameras. About three thousand and enabling a continuous telescope and television camera.



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## SPACE

the new system will take still pictures and transmit them in digital form over a radio link to Earth. Transmission time from Jupiter to Earth will be about 30 minutes. *Sent Anger*: "You can just visualize those images had not at space and coming towards us."

The most important part of the mission will take place in December 2005, with the deployment of a 745-kilogram-shaped capsule directly into Jupiter's atmosphere. Scientists say that Jupiter is probably composed mainly of hydrogen and that the ratios of other gases in Jupiter's atmosphere should resemble the composition of elements in the early stages of the creation of the universe.

To investigate the planet's unique composition, Galileo's capsule will plunge through Jupiter's swirling white ammonia cloud-cover into the brilliant turbulence below. Then, the capsule will deploy a parachute, the craft's outer heat shield will fall away and a small instrument package will drift further into Jupiter's atmosphere. Mission scientists expect heat and pressure to crush the package within 75 minutes. But scientists say that, during that brief period, they hope to gain knowledge about the formation of the solar system—about 4.6 billion years ago—from measurements taken by the instruments and released via Galileo.

From there, mission scientists themselves want to test the validity of the so-called big bang theory—that the universe was created in a single instant by a massive explosion. Because believe it is a key element in our understanding of the universe, physiologists say that they are eager to discover whether the ratio of helium and other gases on Jupiter corresponds to the theoretical proportion that scientists say existed right after the big bang.

However, during its flights past Earth, Galileo is also expected to provide scientists with valuable new information on the condition of the planet's atmosphere. In addition, 30 years after the Apollo 11 astronauts transmitted the first photographs of Earth in its entirety, Galileo will provide a new, panoramic view of Earth slowly rotating on its axis, with the moon circling around it. Dramatic film footage of Earth and of Galileo's deployment is also being taken by Canadian cameras aboard Atlantis—a 70-mm camera designed by Toronto-based linear Systems Corp. Producers at home, which specialize in high-definition, large-screen motion pictures, and that they plan to release their film based on the footage.

Nearly 400 years have passed since Galileo developed a telescope that allowed him to peer into the motions of Jupiter. But the planet itself is still too distant to be easily reached by a manned space flight. For their part, the five astronauts aboard the shuttle Atlantis—Wubbo Ockels, pilot Michael McCulley and mission specialists Shannon Lucid, Franklin Chang-Diaz and Ellen Baker—were scheduled to orbit Earth for five days, conduct a series of experiments and then land in California this week, after spending Galileo's oh long and interesting voyage through the solar system.

ANNE STEAKEY with correspondent's report

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#### **Dunc and Bert: animals portrayed with towering racism and crassional power**

FILMS

## Animal magnetism

*A grizzly and a cub make a buddy movie*

**W**hen the director met Bari, he knew at once that he had the right actor for the role. Bari was tall, dark and powerfully strong, and he could represent without a script and take direction that the author's agent could never honestly construct demands. For his daily drab, Bari requested five cans of B.C. salmon, two quarts of apples and carrots, two quarts of milk, three loaves of bread, 12 lbs. of berries, six cans of beans, a couple of kilos of rice and 10 kg. of flour.

To obtain his best performance, the director had to let him cold. But did not have a reputation as a difficult actor, but if I deserved to cross him. Weighing 2,000 lb. and standing over six feet, two inches on his bad legs he is the star of "The Bear," one of the most unusual psychological dramas ever filmed.

Set in British Columbia in 1885, but filmed in Europe, *The Bear* is a nature movie like no other. It is not a documentary but a luminous \$29 million dramatic feature. It portrays animals with startling realism and intimacy as characters in the wild. But French director Jean-Jacques

Armed, best known for his 1982 hit, *Quest for Fire*—a Canadian-made prehistoric epic—The Bear made another list of cinematic duds. Based on The Grizzly King, a 1905 story by US adventure writer James Oliver Curwood, it is a simple tale about a tribe of grizzly and an orphaned cub who are pursued by hunting dogs. But it is influenced from the outset by *Ventura*. There is no suspense, and there are only 10 minutes of dialogue in the 90-minute movie.

*Disney with Assistant: 'I was looking for the John Wayne of beans.'*



Opening across North America this weekend, *The Bear* has already broken box-office records in Europe, where it has grossed over \$110 million. Asked about his son's appeal, Penruddick told Maclean's last week: "It's maybe the E. T. syndrome. *E. T.* is about little ones from another world in trouble, and here we have a little alien from this world in trouble—one is made of plastic; the other of..."

The "beast" scene is the myriad cubs played by an adorable bundle of four named Disney. She was 14 weeks old when filming began to re-create a feral scene; the cub acts were later edited by a recalcitrant while they were dragging honey from a beehive on a mountainside. The cub narrates a variety of adventures, playing a game of cat-and-mouse with a grizzly, bumbling down rapids and being chased by a couger. Aired once depicts the cub's dreams—such as, in one scene, his hallucinations after eating a "magic mushroom." Along the way, the cub finds a feline friend in the shape of a bear, played by Taz. Together, they catch trout, hunt deer—and are tracked by two predators. The drama culminates in an extraordinary

strange showings between bear and man.

Entertaining for both children and adults, The Bear Movie was shot with a sophisticated array of unanticipated sounds. French composer Stephan Haesler says that he wanted to create a filmic rather than a documentary look, and he lined the walls with the kind of colored lighting used for Hollywood sets. The movie is full of boldly edited close-ups—such as the glow in a bear's eye to a knife blade leaving a notch in the tip of a bullet. Meanwhile, the sound track offers a surreal hypnosis by animal expression—the sounds of growling, growling, panting, crying and eating.

The cat's phantom voice sounds serenely like that of a baby-hush. But despite the cat's benevolence, The Bear has little in common with Disney-style animal adventures. "Disney does things in a totally different approach," he agreed. "He depicted a human being with the features of an animal—much the way he did in cartoons." In The Bear, animal sonorances act remarkably like human beings, but the director said that he did not want the identification to be sustained.

Annealed and that he first had the idea of making "a psychological drama about animals" when he was in Toronto in 1981, working on *Quest for Fire*. It occurred to him while reading Go Agave, Austrian novelist Konrad Louwer's book on animal behavior. Annealed then discovered the novel by Cawood, a bear hunter turned conservationist, who spent much of his life in the Canadian

ISN'T IT NICE TO HAVE A HOBBY.



in bush. Because Corcoran's story was set in British Columbia, Amund first located there for filming locations. But his tests of virgin wilderness were unsuccessful by road. He then located locations in New Zealand, Australia, Spain, Hungary and Romania, before finally settling on the Austrian and Italian Alps.

But the movie clearly identifies the story's B.C. setting—a strange reversal of what happens when Hollywood uses Canadian locations for movies set elsewhere. Said Amund: "There been very careful to try to capture the feeling of British Columbia's untouched wilderness, the feeling of pristine virginity." And, in an extroverted gesture, Amund travelled to the Arctic village of Canada's Northwest Territories to film just the final shot of the movie—a surprising percentage of unscripted peaks.

In creating the scenario, Amund again had to strike a balance between bottom-line economics and accessibility. He said he needed "to bear that kind of behavior in mind if he were alone in the wilderness with a crew of 200 people with him." He could have chosen any number of tame caribou herds. But they would be succumbing in a natural setting. Amund visited California ranches that train animal actors, but he had no success. "I had a misconception at that time without knowing that caribou bears were so different," the director recalls. "I was looking for the John Wayne of bears and I met the Peter O'Toole or Dudley Moore of bears. I was quite disappointed. I kept meeting bears that were too lazy or too aggressive."

Then, in 1986, he discovered Bart, a grizzly who was born in a sow den raised in the Utah mountains by successive trappers. Doreen Amund said she found the adult "superweise and reliable." Bart still had to acquire some survival skills—it took him a year to learn how to sweep his foot out of water. But by the time filming started in 1987, Bart was ready. And by then, he already had his supporting roles to his credit—with Daryl Hannah in a pachymatric camp, Clark of the Crows' Beale and John Carty in a summer vacation home. The Great Outdoors, Meanwhile, Amund cast the nephew bear from a chain bottled-cubs at a bear sanctuary set up by the producers in France.

There were no injuries working with Bart—until the end of the shoot, when Amund had a close call. "After six months of very safe shooting," he said, "we all thought we were working with a bigger bear. But a bear is a ferocious creature." Posing for photographs, the director stepped over the slightly disoriented bear to de-scarify the bear's private territory. Bart knocked Amund over and pressed him to the ground. Recalled Amund: "That was desperately trying to bite me. I could hear the noise of hatching, but he couldn't reach me because my head was under his chest." Amund remained calm, and the bear lost interest, allowing Amund to crawl away. "You only truly pay a price at his latitude from a class." "Bart was just a bad mom," shrugged the director—so more aware than ever that even the best actors can be unpredictable.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



Gosick, Schatzky, Newman dramatizing Oppenheimer's quest to build the A-bomb

## Bombs away

A megaton epic overwhelms its director

FAT MAN AND LITTLE BOY

Directed by Roland Joffé

**H**ollywood loves stories that are larger than life. And few are much larger than the saga of building the first atomic bomb. It has all the right stuff: a race against time, a crisis of conscience and a sense of global perspective. History has provided a tragic hero in American physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, father of the nuclear age and victim of his own Conscience, with both. Now, the story of Oppenheimer's quest to build the bomb has become itself a cinematic epic. *For All We Know*—the title refers to the names of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. French director Roland Joffé has displayed a talent for dramatizing historic tragedy. He portrayed the Cambodian massacre in *The Killing Fields* (1984) and the European component of South America in *The Mission* (1986). But with *Fat Man and Little Boy*, Joffé sets an overwhelming task for himself.

Paul Newman stars as Gen. Leslie Groves, a figure who has received scant notice from historians. Groves was the driving force behind the \$2-billion A-bomb project, which was launched at Los Alamos, N.M., in 1943 under a shroud of secrecy. An immensely valiant and strident—performer, Newman portrays here as a fiery muckraker. But despite the actor's star billing, Oppenheimer's character dominates the movie. He is portrayed by Dwight Schultz, a stage actor commanding an incomparable screen debut.

The movie is an overblown parable about a



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# Delicate liaisons

*A movie skirts the new issues of adoption*

IMMEDIATE FAMILY  
Directed by Jonathan Kaplan

**T**hey are a professional couple who seem to have everything in reducing marriage, a beautiful house containing the ocean, a black Staff Terrier and a car and a car dog. What they lack, however, is a car baby. And after failing to conceive their own, they arrange to adopt. They fear their hopes of a young, working-class woman who is about to give birth but who lacks the means to be a good mother. That is the premise for *Immediate Family*, a movie about the trend toward open adoption—a process by which the biological mother meets the adopting parents before surrendering her child. It is a delicate issue, the kind most typically addressed by television series of the past. But *Immediate Family* tracks around the controversy. Amazing and heartbreaking, it is grimly unchurched on several counts.

More startling than provocative, *Immediate Family* offers a final script (it's based on some fine writing). But the casting is at first perplexing: we see Glenn Close and Joaquin Phoenix—both famous for playing twisted personal men—portraying a nice, well-educated couple in a nice, well-educated movie! In her most recent role, Close appears as a cruelly vindictive aristocrat in the 18th-century sexual intrigue *Diamonds Are Forever*. And the last time she shared the screen with young children was in the 1987 thriller about the dangers of child sex, *Fatal Attraction*, where her character raised a little girl per capita into a babbling pot of genital. Woods tends to play bathheads, schlemazels and drag queens. Last year, he appeared in an ad for *The Sopranos*, a contemporary tale about cocaine and as a jet-setting lawyer in *The Devil's Own*, the story of a cartoonish magnate. Now *Immediate Family*—Close and Woods's rare opportunity to act like model citizens. Both performers seem to coast through the movie. But even at half-speed, the two actors manage to transform their material.

Please in Vancouver, the story is set in Seattle. Linda (Close) sells upscale real estate. Michael (Woods) is a veterinarian. After a decade of marriage, Linda has failed to become pregnant. The couple makes a glaucoma attempt at artificial insemination, without success. Finally, they turn to an agency that arranges open adoption; an organization that seems to specialize much like a dating service. It involves an exchange of vital statistics, a nervous first meeting, a negotiation, and perhaps a life-changing commitment. The movie conveys the awkward novelty of the procedure for everyone involved. As a friend of Michael's mother

observes, "It used to be about a child needing a home. Now it's about a couple wanting a child."

**S**adistic. Linda immediately collects evidence a young woman's potential pregnancy will end in due birth in three weeks. Lucy (Mary Stuart Masterson) is from out of town. She lives in a crowded house with a gridlocked bathtub and an adolescent pair of brothers. Raising Lucy is out of the question. Soon Lucy is on



Closer having everything—except her own baby

Linda's doorman, followed by the boyfriend, Sam (Keanu Reeves), a rock 'n' roll musician.

As the couple gets to know both Lucy and Sam, they suffer culture shock. When asked what business his parents are in, Sam replies, "They're not in business; they're in a job." In fact, Sam's mother works in a bakery and his father was convicted of selling a fellow factory worker in an argument. Says Sam,

"You don't mess with the old man."

However, Linda and Michael eventually recognize that the biological parents of their prospective adoptee are a living couple, despite punk appearance and subgum backgrounds. The class barrier is reduced to a matter of taste, like the difference between snap-hammering bronze and heavy metal—Linda and Lucy find common ground during a Linda's long road to a car. Mr. Morris is killed in seeking a home for her unborn child. Lucy expresses the family's wound that the answer had. And the relationship comes together in an especially moving scene of Lucy going home, with Michael and Linda serving as older coaches.

Inevitably, Lucy has second thoughts about giving up her child—otherwise, there would be no drama. Masterson measures the subtleties of the young mother's dilemma with quiet nobility, but the script does not deserve the credit. All the characters are unusually patient with one another. And director Jonathan Kaplan pads the narrative with an excess of soft-rock narrative asides, which say the dramatic tissues.

**M**eanwhile, *Immediate Family* evades some disturbing issues about adoption. Although it is the story of an affluent couple who, in effect, buy a baby from a woman who cannot afford to keep it, the scene does not grapple with the implications of the transaction. Nor does it comment on the fact that the couple selects the hottest commodity in the adoption market: a baby girl, white, newborn baby. At first, the story jiggles nicely with a sense of wist. But as the drama turns serious, the clichés addle into more stereotypes.

**D**irector Kaplan has bolted much of his career on movies that express a feminist compassion for women. His best movie, *Race to Witch Mountain* (1985), chronicled the malevolent story of American drag racer Shirley Muldowney, who fights a battle against sexism to become a champion. And last year, Kaplan directed *The Accused*, the harrowing story of a female lawyer defending a working-class victim of a gang rape.

*Family* fails to make such an challenging movie about women learning to communicate across the class barrier. The movie succeeds in generating a sense of empathy, but, for the sake of interesting entertainment, it skirts the issue that it pretends to explore.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON



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## BOOKS

settled at the trial of Bellard and his partner, the late Stafford Smith, that changes worth more than \$85,000 in the Medfield from the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association were diverted to Bellard and Smythe. Bellard reports that Bellard never spoke to Heale again. Later, after Smythe died and Bellard was control of the Gardens, Bellard claimed, as part of his revenge over the Smythe family, that Dr. Hugh Smythe, Stafford's brother, born in his hockey arena, a skater.

In 1917, *Toronto Star* sportswriter Frank Ory was critical of Bellard's treatment of Jim Gregoire, then general manager of the Maple Leaf. Bellard's response, Bellades writes, "was to tell Ory crudely, 'He began telling others that Ory was a homossexual.' He claimed Ory waited outside the St. Charles Tavern on Yonge Street 'looking for little boys.' Bellard then goes on to explain, in two of the book's funniest lines, that the now-defunct St. Charles was 'a hangout for homosexuals on the make for an all-white set-night show' and that Bellard's comments "befitted Ory privately, and especially his wife because they are practicing homosexuals." Even now, Bellard will not speak to Ory.

In yet another example of the old male antagonism, Bellades recounts how in 1919 Jack Hunter, editor of the Maple Leaf Gardens hockey program, discovered that a famous piece of Canadian had been disposed of by Bellard. The broadcasting booth known as "The powder," from which announcer Foster Hewitt had covered Leafs games on radio and television since 1931, had been destroyed. The seat was occupied and the wood turned into the Gardens' incinerator. He told the story to *The Toronto Star* and Bellard, charged that the story was one "fictitious." The reverent Hewitt was thunderstruck when he heard the news. Then he said: "It's typical of Bellard. He has no respect for memory or nostalgia."

However, the foibles of old men showed up after all, although it had clearly been one, in the book's final chapter. Bellades writes of the relationship between him and Yolande, a rich widow (then his general manager) who people drew to him for the open qualities of the otherwise obstinate entrepreneur's life. The dapper Yolande—when she writes describes as being "slender as an eve fern"—met Bellard in July 1953, when she decided to take a birthday cruise to his office on the 20th birthday.

The relationship between Yolande and Bellard touches the heart. In August, 1962, Bellard dragged up to them as they were about to depart for Harold's summer cottage. After helping Bellard get settled in his wheelchair, Bellades describes their exit: "Yolande, propping up her lower summer chemise, walked towards the door," he writes. "I followed, helping Harold struggle. There was a private exchange toing to her lips. Harold was appreciative. 'Nice ass, eh, Rick?' I agreed, also appreciative." That exchange is short as tender as the lead, marimba hook girls. But, of course, that makes it a perfect fit for Pad Mac.

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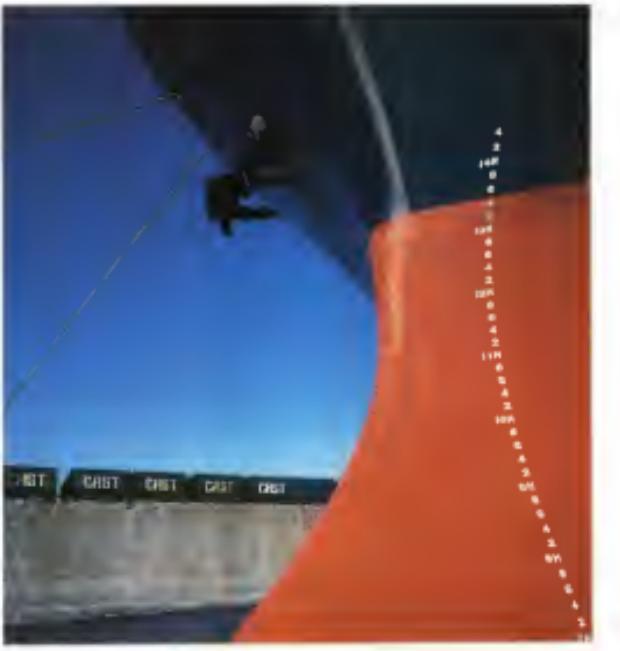
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## TELEVISION

# TV highs and lows

New Canadian series soar and stumble

**L**aunching a new television series can be a little like sending up a spacecraft. Both enterprises are fraught with risk—and with uncertainty about whether the vehicle will successfully go into orbit. On the Canadian scorecard, three of the five new Canadian prime-time series are having trouble getting off the ground; one achieves a promising liftoff, and another, the improved comedy show *The Kids in the Hall*, has already safely landed. All of the series—*Cast Blue Box*, *Magnolia Lake*, *In Opposition* and *The Kids in the Hall*, and cTV's *Borderland* and *EN.G.*—follow familiar TV formulas. But only *Kids*, a half-hour show featuring two punks armed with a shared love of Lance and *EN.G.*, a polished, hour-long sitcom focusing on the geeky and eccentric in a TV environment, have original content and the results. The other three—the two sitcoms, *Magnolia Lake* and *In Opposition*, and one 1980s drama set in the Canadian West, *Borderland*—are weighted down with lame plots, predictable plots and clichéd characters.

*EN.G.*, an acronym for electronic news-gathering, is indebted to the 1987 movie *Standpoint News*, to the groundbreaking TV show *Mill Street Blues* and, even to the old *May Tybo Movie Show*. Starting this week on Thursday at 10 p.m., it features stage and screen actress Sarah Bernhard as news producer Ann Hildebrand, a dedicated workaholic who still looks glamorous after a grueling day of meeting deadlines and making hard decisions. On the one hand, she has to fend off editorial interference from the powerfully conniving Brian Conner. On the other, she is fighting the intrusion of her private affairs into her professional life—a difficult task because her lover is in the station's hottest competition, *Janeiro* (Mark Humphrey).

The show is saved from becoming a night-time soap opera by some strong writing, a witty supporting cast and repeat plots ranging from tame male scandals to municipal corruption. While occasionally maddeningly clichéd, it does have the characters' flaws. And it avoids the usual clichés about money between working women.

*The Kids in the Hall* (9 p.m.), which are clearly a catalyst for comedy. Members of the group have an uncertain eye for showbiz silliness and they are



Moransky: a hot cameraman in a newfangled live action

adroit at turning them inside out. In one slot, a suburban mother, played hilariously by Scott Thompson, at first refuses to let her son keep the strip get he has brought home. Gradually, she softens, but finally忍耐 his desire. The difference is that the story is not a cat or a squirrel-type bourgeoisie, who keeps hunting out his nest and compulsively shoots his son into the air yelling, "Son!"

The show displays the kind of manic energy that helped to make the British TV series *Madame Tussaud's Flying Circus* a success in the 1970s. While the *Madame Tussaud* crew is hampered by the upper class, the snobby and pretentious, the characters in *Kids* stick to their middle-class roots. Their targets include suburban blandness, shirkish businesses and horsephobes, and their sharpness is more enlightening than malicious. Often the premise of a skit is extremely silly, but the troupe's verbal delivery, often language and sheer comic imagination can still carry it—and make up for

occasional lapses into bad taste. In one case, the freckled Dave Bailey announces that the troupe has unexpectedly found the cause of cancer. To provide the full explanation, he introduces a nervous Bruce McCulloch who, after several false starts, blurts out matter-of-factly, "I'm sorry I caused all that cancer." The show is sometimes effective and delightfully uneven. But the cast members are among the freshest comedy minds at work on TV.

At the other end of the comic spectrum are two new cbc sitcoms, *Magnolia Lake* and *In Opposition*. In *Opposition* (Tuesday, 7:30 p.m.), newcomer Steven Leigh's Kenneth Lester is Karen Collier, a newly elected, slightly dim representative from Mountie, N.B. to Ottawa, she is quickly becoming familiar with her constituents, corruption and unscrupulous politicians. *In Opposition* (Wednesday, 9 p.m.) has the writing and the characters—wacky party girls, slow-witted politicians and Collier herself—so lacking in authority that no one will seriously care when she finds herself in a awkward scrapes.

*Magnolia Lake* (Fridays, 7 p.m.) has Stand-up comedian Mike MacDonald plays Bob Harrison, a math teacher who lives for his summer vacations in cottage country. The show competes on nearly every midweek slot for a long-suffering sole, a water-cracking uncool daughter. Dad is TV's usual encapsulated family man, irreducible to shiftery and given to wacky posturing. The relationship between Bob and his good-natured neighbor, George, seems like a pale shadow of the old Ralph Kramden and Ed Norton roles in *The Honeymooners*: a loud, insect-like buster man and a dim-witted crook who still manages to outsmart him.

*Borderland* (Tuesday, 7:30 p.m.), a western featuring the good, the bad and the beautiful, makes a good case for *Gatineau* reruns. A good position is betrayed by hackneyed writing. Nicely shot near Maple Ridge, B.C., the show is set in an 1860s town that has been split in half by the newly drawn 49th parallel. US Marshal Jack Conole (Richard Csonar) is an ex-gangster who provides law enforcement in the American section, while his counterpart is sprightly Mountie Clive Bennett (John Bennett). Completing the triangle is Marie Deneuve, a beautiful French widow and doctor (Sophie Bechtel), who carries the load for the health of regular individuals in the town. The relationship between the two men contains a few wry notes—mostly on the differing cultural attitudes they bring to their jobs—while their rivalry for the affection of Deneuve never rises above the sophomore.

As the season enters its critical midpoint, the new shows will have to prove they have the necessary fuel to stay aloft. While some are already rocketing ahead, for others, it's clearly mission impossible.

DIANE TUREKOFF

# PUBLISHER'S Choice

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## BOOKS

# Hostess supreme

*Stevie Cameron serves up tasty political fare*

### OTTAWA INSIDE OUT

By Steve Cameron  
(Key Porter, 320 pages, \$19.95)

to be snoots, buffoons and bunglings, with scarcely as admirable policy, motive or substance in their pooh-pooh heads.

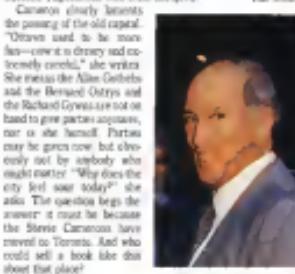
In Ottawa Inside Out, the "inside" is better than the "out," for Steve Cameron is, above all, an insider. And when she is not, she does a good job of sounding like one. She knows the language of the gravy— the jargon of the speech codex had to be acquired later. Not only does she know, and use, the words of all the simpletons and struts of the grueling life, but she is also top to all the hush words of bureaucracy too, through the eyes of her cold-armed husband, David Cameron.

The son of a doctor at the University of British Columbia, he is the mandarin's mandarin, a former assistant deputy minister for various departments in Ottawa. Now senior constitutional adviser to Ontario Premier David Peterson, he is also that province's chief liaison officer with Quebec. In pursuit of both their careers, the Camerons have always maintained kindly— continuing in their Toronto home the traditions they established in their missives they wrote at Ottawa.

And nowhere in the book more elegantly awarded than in the elegant salons of Blackfriars or the heavily populated sections of Ottawa called New Edinburgh. The salutes there have always been to Cameron as one of their own. Her accounts of the new Ottawa reflect her long



introduced Liberal viewpoints. Her second depicts Ottawa as it was before the "Tory barbarians arrived, led by those parsons Mulroney at the here-curtain stage of big Irish development—with an assist from his crooked-shouldered Yugoslav wife from Serbia.



**Cameron toasted, roasted**

The book serves up four courses, not necessarily as Cameron labors them in her story. The soup is her travel-magazine tour of Ottawa, laced with anecdotes about who is doing what to whom, and where, including a curious segue about the Tulip Valley Motel being the place for media magnificence. The fish course is a detailed

lesson on how the game of politics is played, layer by layer. It is the best part of the book, with its insights into how governments govern—how they are supposed to, how it happens, and how it could be a better, presumably Gre, world.

The main course is a dazzling round of what matters and why, including those who have. Interest. Good night, Mike Duffy Bellini, Wendy Mesley. So long, Dalton Camp. Solid work, Carol Grey. Cameron's own dominant viewpoint is evident as she roundly points out the paucity of women in high places in government—and frequently transports the paucity of women who do make it, particularly in journalism.

For dessert, there is a

batch of all the kitchen jobs

that have been done by Brian

and MIA Mulroney, full of

details about the shaping

and decorating habits of the

rich and famous, much of it

funded by taxpayer money.

Cameron at least sparingly indulges a round of her great favorites—the history of the Mulroney cupboard, and the number of generates the Grecs throw. The old scandals echo like the bonging of a distant gang. Five official residents—Stevens Drive, the Harrington Lake

CHARLES LYNN

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**Certified Rare.**

smaller cottage, Stormway, the Kingpin residence of the Speaker of the House, and Government House, the home of the Governor General—are trashed, along with their occupants.

And the committee members who supervise them are reduced to lackeys of a hirsute-crowned Prince Minister, Guyana Mervielo, the man who did the decor, ran up the debts and fled to Italy when the Prime Minister did not pay the bill (it was later settled) gets several pages, mostly admiring. Cameron also plays the work of other designer pals of hers, as well as a long list of executives, barristers and other languids that she lists.

Despite all the old material, there are some new insights, some of which read like an editor's regret, reflecting Cameron's intense use of the access-to-information channels. There are how-to courses in spying, reporting—and wenching and whoring for both sexes (Cameron notes that the city's Yellow Pages include roughly 120 escort services).

The scribblers and gingers of the Parliament Press-Gallery should be forced to read *Reads About Out!* as a qualification for entry into the Parliamentary Press, with all its perks—at least in the plausibly National Press Club, with what Cameron calls its "terrible" food. For her part, Cameron is currently producing some of the tastiest fiction in town. The good parts are very good, and the stale parts are likewise—just like leftovers.

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## BOOKS



Tremblay: as tender with his characters as a mother with a favorite child

## Gay domesticity

*Michel Tremblay pens a homosexual love story*

### THE HEART LAID BARE

By Michel Tremblay  
(McGraw-Hill Ryerson, \$20.95)  
260 pages

**L**etency celebrations of the kind of love that leads to marriage have pretty much fallen out of fashion. Few serious authors are writing, it seems, about how Sam and Bob had made a happy life with them in suburban Moose Jaw. Much more popular—and topical—is the story of how their life isn't apart because Bob turned out to be a kleptomaniac or Sam was shooting crack at the basement. The truth is, failure often makes better fiction than does success. That makes Michel Tremblay's latest novel, *The Heart Laid Bare*, an unusual book. The award-winning Quebec writer of such novels as *The Red House*, *Not Dead But Forgotten*—and of plays including *Le bœuf enragé*—*Afterline in Five Years*—spans against the tide by chronicling how a Montreal couple overcomes various difficulties to make a workable relationship. Like a great many Canadians, the two manage to weather in law, bodies and personality clashes, not to mention the onslaught of winter. Indeed, they seem average at every respect but one: Jean-Marc and Mathilde are homosexual men.

Twenty or even 10 years ago, *The Heart Laid Bare* would have been unthinkable. Homosexuals were only just beginning to declare themselves in public, and the gay literature of the times was concerned largely with the joys and difficulties of "coming out." In the 1980s, all that has changed, as homosexuals have become more open about their lifestyle and society more at ease with them; authors have been able to create stories more exploring the deeper ramifications of being gay.

Tremblay's aim is to *The Heart Laid Bare* is to celebrate the normality of gay domestic life, to make the common, banal details of expert care underlying all stariness, whether gay or straight. His principal character, Jean-Marc, is a 39-year-old French professor living in Montreal. We're told of the pickup scene in the city's bars to denote a more stable relationship. Then he meets a 24-year-old ageing actor called Mathieu, who is also tired of the social fast lane and so the two begin a tentative romance, each hoping for something more enduring and lasting than he has known.

The way to domestic contentment proves to be more tortuous than either could have foreseen. Jean-Marc has a particularly bad time adapting to the weekend visits of Sébastien, Mathieu's four-year-old son from his first marriage. Afraid of saying no to the child, he lets himself be talked out of his bed at 6:30 a.m. to help Sébastien put together a jigsaw puzzle on the long-enough floor. The singer,

curious and growing less sheltered as each character make up much of the fabric of *The Heart Laid Bare*. It is a small, tightly focused novel, filled with the details of domestic life, and as tender with its characters as a mother with a favorite child.

The *Heart Laid Bare* set in the late 1980s, just as AIDS was making serious inroads in Montreal. Yet, strangely, Jean-Marc and Mathieu never even discuss the disease, even though both of them have had many losses. Instead, Tremblay has centered his anxiety about AIDS on the figure of Luc, Jean-Marc's former boyfriend. The handsome Luc is conspicuously promiscuous—and spends much of his time in bouts of terror that he might be infected. Luc is pathologically cynical—and a far more convincing character than Jean-Marc or Mathieu. Compared to the two, however, he is failing to be lovable: an acerbically-free-spirited man who failed in all other dimensions, the two make a rather tragic pair. The truth is, Tremblay isn't much interested in the disease, and the pathology of their relationship that he risks putting the reader to sleep. His formal prose style is necessarily too well-behaved. His narrative seems to drop the sharp, pointedly accurate details that would inspire and convince. There is more pathos and joy in marriage—both homosexual and heterosexual—than Tremblay has portrayed. Other authors, from Dona Lowing to John Cheever, have covered the same territory far more thoroughly. A simple change in the gender of a protagonist does not lead *The Heart Laid Bare* enough force and originality to cut to the crux of the mystery of the marriage partnership.

JOHN REMERKOE

### MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

#### RCTION

1. *Clear and Present Danger*, Clancy (1)
2. *The Rose War*, in Contin (2)
3. *The Pillars of the Earth*, Jacobs (3)
4. *Strength*, France (5)
5. *The Hippocrates*, Regehr (5)
6. *Say Love*, Daugherty
7. *Star*, Best (7)
8. *Polar Star*, Cox Smith (8)
9. *Cold Mountain*, Gold, John (9)
10. *A Natural Curiosity*, Drabble (9)

#### NOMINATION

1. *The House in Her Mouth*, Valenza (1)
2. *A Woman Named Jackie*, Heywood (2)
3. *Other Lives*, Baynes (7)
4. *Wormwood*, MacNeil (3)
5. *In a Glass Darkly*, Sjöström (3)
6. *Marriage Plot*
7. *Goodbye Darkness*, Clancy (8)
8. *One Hundred Monkeys*, Am (9)
9. *Fences, Love and Death*, Stead (5)
10. *Close Ties*, Coates

/ Previous best seller  
Compiled by Kevin Bratton

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# No flying buns for a bully boy

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

**O**nly in Canada would we offer a plot-form to a bully from another satirist to tell us how to run our country and our economy and our life. Only in Toronto would inept boors of distasteful and tasteless inane lectures fauna show why their amateurish ideas on their independence are incorrect. Only Canadians would sit silent, rather than pull them with jeans and hoo-hah from the stage. We are so polite. So chicken.

Jack Valenti is a short, white-haired bully, one of the most powerful lobbyists in the United States, representing one of the richest lobbies in the United States, that being Hollywood's film industry. He is a fixture in Washington, witness at the night White House parties, plowing通过 with the right people, ever ready to leap upon the subservient committee called Canada.

The problem is that subservient Canada would like to give just a token nod of control over the film industry in this country that the United States—being the United States and Canada being Canada—controls. It is even prep in effect, of course, the United States having contrived our industry and tax industry and auto industry and Malacore industry for so long—but let's try.

Jack Valenti is frightened. He is frightened because little Canada is making moves of actually showing some domestic control of film distribution. Hollywood, being Hollywood, feels Hollywood should be allowed to run the rest of the world as Hollywood. Valenti has allowed that little Canada is to be allowed what Canada wants to do, it would be "the thin edge of the wedge." Thus sleeping European eagle awakes and then, who knows, Asia then goes the neighborhood. There goes monopoly control, and you know what that means?

Jack Valenti's salary and tenure this century.

At issue is the garrulous Ottawa attempt over years to suggest some Canadian control over the film distribution industry in this country—and a shocking proposal—to increase the showing of Canadian movies or Canadian



ates. Since we have spent our lives watching Hollywood portrayals by Melvin Belli in the Rockies, the cliché of our time, this is indeed a remarkable suggestion now.

McClellan Blair, the current Valenti enemy, being the concatenations minister and cultural czar of all of Canada, has in process, somewhere through the House of Commons, a state, legislature that would give domestic distributors a decent shot at holding on film for showing in Canada. American distributors, being of good cheer, have always regarded it a tool that they can dominate what is shown at Canadian box offices.

Hollywood distributors don't put a nickel into Canadian productions and they take about \$1 billion a year out of this country. Valenti, as chairman of Motion Picture Export Association of America, is paid to ensure that looks ratio.

That's okay, but why does the Empire Club of Toronto not throw bums at him while, in his

midlife Texas drawl, he pales on the bullying buffaloes? The Empire Club, one of the last refuges of what is left of the Toronto Establishment, is not a club at all but a speaking platform, the emanations from which are collected under red-carpet covers at the end of the year, somewhat like the recorded speeches of Rudyard Kipling.

The Empire Club, being positive and virginal, does not say its speeches less for their Olympic thoughts, and I have since received, at year-end, a leather-bound volume. I do not think, however, this excuses the appearance of Jack Valenti, who doesn't need the money, being the legend and the man in the fancifully titled Washington backwoods.

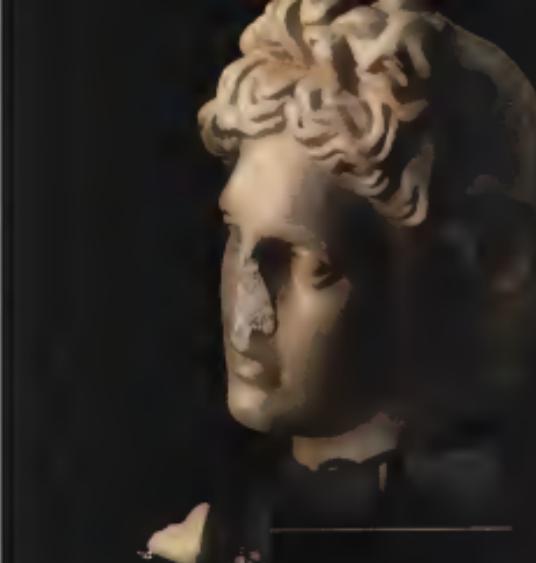
There are definitive reasons for Valenti's assassination. The European Community, which supposedly is to become one currency branch in 1992 with the known down of borders and passports, has, despite the often-voiced ballyhoo, a frontier lobbying raised that its 19 stations boast a capacity of European broadcasting.

There is the fast possibility—despite the Task Force of that cannot government in Come By Chance—that something substantive can be led down if Ottawa has the courage. The bully Valenti killed off, with great vigor, the previous domestic film policy proposed by Flora MacDonald, the lady who could never hold great sway around the Malacore cabinet table. The Tories allowed it to die on the agenda while they called an election. Flora died before the voters.

There now have been eight successive Ottawa communications ministers—twelve and never backed up by the Prime Minister's Office—who have tried to strike a deal with the Hollywood studios that would result in plowing something back into Canadian film production. Canada, in its struggling film industry, has resembled East Germany to Moscow. The analogy is the same.

Jack Valenti, being a great risk-enterprise, of course would regard the consequence, would be appealed by it. He would be expected to do so. Notions that domestic and bully international are always intertwined when it is pointed out what they are in fact doing.

The United States has dominated so long the cultural world of Canada, through films and newspapers and other definites, that it has no idea of its dominance. Canadians, because they are so used to the dominance, never think to object. And our friend, little government does not have the guts to stand up to the situation. Which is why no one at the Empire Club had the set to let a boor at a bully who was insulting our integrity.



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